THE MORAVIANS IN JAMAICA.

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THE MORAVIANS IN JAMAICA.

HISTORY

OF THE MISSION OF THE

UNITED BRETHREN'S CHURCH

TO THE NEGROES IN THE ISLAND OF JAMAICA,

FROM THE YEAR 1754 TO 1854.

BY

J. H. BUCHNER,

MISSIONARY IN JAMAICA FOR A PERIOD OF FIFTEEN YEARS.

"GO YE INTO ALL THE WORLD, AND PREACH THE GOSPEL TO EVERY CREATURE."

LONDON:
LONGMAN, BROWN, & Co., 39, PATERNOSTER ROW.
1854.

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DEDICATION.

To the Promoters and Supporters of the Moravian Missions.

Honoured and much beloved Brethren and Friends in Jesus; you have hitherto cheerfully and liberally answered the appeals made to you on behalf of the extensive Missions of the Brethren's Church. You have enabled a small body of Christians who desire to devote all their energies to the preaching of the gospel, to send out a considerable number of labourers into the vineyard of the Lord. To you therefore the Church of the United Brethren owes a debt of gratitude. Her congregations in heathen lands have to thank you, next to the Lord and their faithful teachers, for possessing the means of grace and the light of the gospel. To you, honoured and much beloved Brethren and Friends, the author desires to dedicate this History of the Moravians in Jamaica. With feelings of unfeigned gratitude and christian love, he prays that the blessing of the Lord may rest upon you at all times, and under all circumstances.

In the best of bonds he remains, your brother in Christ, J. H. BUCHNER.

PREFACE.

The Church of the United Brethren, commonly called Moravians, is one of the smallest tribes of the Israel of God, and is but little known. Descended from those faithful witnesses who, in the countries of Moravia and Bohemia, bore testimony to the truth as it is in Jesus, and sealed it with their blood, at a time when ignorance and superstition had well nigh succeeded in extinguishing the light of the gospel, they, in common with the Waldenses, have the honour of being the most ancient of all the Protestant Churches. Animated with a holy zeal to make known the saving name of Jesus, their missionaries went forth and traversed many countries, within the short period of ten years after they had emigrated from their native land, to enjoy religious liberty. Of the numerous missions to the heathen, which at that time were undertaken by them, many have been successful, and continue to this day. The Moravians have numerous congregations of heathen converts in Greenland, Labrador, the Islands of the West Indies, Surinam, the Cape of Good Hope, and among the Indians in North America. It is by these missions they have at-

tracted the attention of other churches, and gained their esteem and love. The Brethren's congregations not being sufficiently wealthy to raise the necessary means for the support of these Missions, have been, and are to this day, liberally supported by christians of other denominations.

In 1754, three Moravian missionaries arrived in the island of Jamaica to preach the gospel to the Negro slaves; and the following Narrative contains the history of this Mission during the last hundred years. The author begs to state that what he has written, is published upon his own responsibility; and that he has not been commissioned or authorized by the authorities of the church. The facts stated are, to the best of his knowledge, strictly according to truth: for the opinions and sentiments expressed, the author alone is accountable. Being engaged as a missionary of the Brethren's Church in this Island, during the last fifteen years, he has had ample opportunity of making himself acquainted with every department and station of this Mission; and the centenary jubilee which takes place this year, incites him to record the principal events of the past, in the belief that the numerous friends and supporters of the United Brethren's Missions will take an interest in the work.

J. H. BUCHNER.

Fairfield, Mandeville, P. O.
Jamaica, 1854.

INTRODUCTION.

ARRIVAL OF THE AUTHOR IN JAMAICA—COMMON ERRORS—RELIGIOUS AND MORAL STATE OF THE ISLAND—REMARKS ON THE COUNTRY—CLIMATE—FEVERS—IMPROVED STATE OF HEALTH—CAUSES—STATISTICS—DISEASES AMONG THE NEGROES—INCREASE OF POPULATION—PATRONAGE OF PROPRIETORS OF ESTATES—SLAVERY.

It was on the 6th of February, 1839, that the vessel in which I had crossed the Atlantic, cast anchor in the harbour of Black River, on the south coast of Jamaica. We had been sailing all day along the coast, and I had admired two mountain ranges, which, at an elevation of about 2000 feet, run almost parallel with each other, leaving a valley of from five to ten miles in width between them. The captain pointed out to me, almost on the top of one of these mountains, Fairfield, the place of my destination. As the evening closed in, a cold damp breeze sprang up, and the clouds hung over the mountains, deep down into the valley; it was cold and chilly, and I found the warmth of an over-coat quite grateful. The next morning we landed.

Black River is a small seaport of perhaps two thousand inhabitants. The characteristics of this, as well as of all the towns and villages here, are disorder, filth, and an air of negligence and wretchedness. The houses are nearly all built of wood, many with broken windows, doors and gates, with only here and there a more decent habitation. Brother Davis,

JAMAICA.
(WEST INDIES.)
Scale of Geographical Miles
MORAVIAN STATIONS (The figure attached denotes the year of foundation)
HANOVER
WESTMORELAND
SURREY
MIDDLESEX
ST ANNS
TRELAWNEY
ST JAMES
ST THOMAS in the VALE
ST DOROTHY
ST CATHERINE
ST ANDREW
ST THOMAS in the EAST
PORTLAND
MARY
GEORGE
DAVID
Blue Mountains
IRWIN HILL
BEAUFORT
SPRINGFIELD
N CARMEL
N EULNECK
N HOPE
N EDEN
BETHANY
NAZARETH
FAIRFIELD
N BETHLEHEM
BETHABARA
LITITZ
Falmouth
Montego Bay
Black River
Spanish Town
Kingston
Port Royal
Old Harbour
West Harb
Port Antonio
Manchioneel Pt
North East End
Morant
Morant Pt
Yallahs Pt
Portland pt

from New Fulnec, soon arrived to welcome us, and after a drive of an hour and a half, we reached the first mission station, New Fulnec, situated on a hill about 300 feet high, affording a pretty view of the valley, where an estate with its canefields and sugar works enlivens the landscape. The first sight of a mission station far surpassed my expectation; the dwelling-house and the church built of stone, and the school-house forming a square, looked neat and pretty, and imparted a feeling of home and comfort. The following sabbath day, I twice addressed a large Negro audience, who formed the congregation. I was astonished at the number that came riding on horseback, and counted above forty horses; I was also much pleased with the appearance of the congregation. They were all well dressed, and behaved as quietly and orderly as could be expected. The rows of black countenances were very striking; they all appeared alike to me. I could not distinguish one from the other; it was several weeks before I discovered that there is as much diversity of expression in the countenances of the blacks as in those of the whites.

For various reasons, I could not go at once to Fairfield, the place where I was to be stationed, and therefore travelled for some weeks, accompanied by my wife, through our several congregations, and had an opportunity at all these places, of addressing and telling them of the love of our brethren and sisters at home. The impression made upon my mind was most favourable, and surpassed all my expectations; I felt cheered and enthusiastic. Here was a wide field open, with abundant room for the exercise of every talent; here were the fruits of the labour of those who had been before me, in large congregations numbering thousands; I found everything much more advanced than I had been led to believe; well-ordered stations, organized churches, the machinery all selected and

trained, and everywhere a life, a zeal, an interest quite new and startling to me. It was the first year of complete emancipation, when a new state of things was in course of formation, when the people looked up to the missionaries as their protectors and advisers in everything, and gladly and willingly submitted themselves to their direction. It is not to be wondered at, that the reports of missionaries of all the different denominations gave very glowing and enthusiastic descriptions of the hopeful state of their congregations at that time. Fifteen years have elapsed since then; I have been labouring in five different congregations, and have had ample opportunities to make experiences of various kinds; I may therefore now speak with more certainty, and be more likely to discern the truth, than at that time.

There is an *error*, not uncommon even among the well-informed, which requires correction. Sometimes, when at home, I had an opportunity of seeing the riches of a tropical land displayed, and formed to myself a picture of its splendour, its balmy air, its continual spring, its glowing colours, its delightful shores, strewn in profusion with the treasures of the deep, its rich vegetation, its delicious fruits, its wonderful animal creation, from the tiny humming-bird to the large flamingo, which made me long to see and enjoy its beauty. Often, when reading the reports of missionaries, have I thought with delight of telling an ignorant multitude the wonderful gospel story of a Saviour's love, and pictured to myself the astonishment, the joy and pleasure they would evince, the eagerness with which they would enquire: "What must I do to be saved!" and the triumphs of the gospel in converting sinners and building up believers on their most holy faith. These are the imaginations of the young; they are shared even by young candidates for the mission service, whose imagination clothes missionary labours in a romantic dress, and whose

desires to serve in the mission are thus strengthened, but not by the spirit of God. They come and see, and their vision departs as a dream of the night; then only it will be seen what spirit is in them, whether the root of the matter, the foundation, was good, upon which they built their stubble and hay, or whether ignorance and an excited imagination urged them to the missionary enterprise. Instead of the balmy air, there is the scorching heat, fraught with disease and death, oppressing the spirit and drying up the fountains of mirth and cheerfulness. The very evenness of the seasons without change is fatiguing; tropical riches must be sought after carefully, and are not in profusion on every hand; and the brilliant plumage of a single bird does not indemnify for the solitary stillness of nature, where the song of the many is never heard. As for man, and his eagerness to hear and do the will of God; who ever heard or read thus of depraved human nature, which, as scripture tells us, "is enmity against God?" Who would not much rather expect that they who have grown up in unchecked lust and passion, would be hardened in sin, and deaf to the voice of the charmer? It is God's Holy Spirit, a power from above, that is required to make men love and obey the Saviour. Our testimony, weak and feeble, or ever so energetic, if unaided by the grace of God, leaves no further impression than the wave upon the sea-shore sand. Much rather might they to whom we are sent, expect to hear that all in Christian lands are followers of the Lord in word and deed; and, truly they do think it is so. Our people here would be much astonished to hear of unbelieving, unrenewed members of our congregations at home. Well I remember, with what simplicity I heard some converted Negroes conversing on the subject: "We grow up in sin, but they are taught to love the Lord from their youth up, and how delightful it must be to see them all children of God."

The mission in Jamaica is, in the present day, the most numerous of all our missions, numbering 13 stations and 45 schools, with a population amounting to 13,000 in connexion with the church. This is a large number, and contrasts strongly with our congregations at home. It is only during the last 30 years that so many have been gathered into the fold, though the mission was begun one hundred years ago. For a long time the labours of the Brethren were comparatively unfruitful, numbering only a few attendants on the ministry. In 1809, Br. Lang still writes: "O Jamaica, Jamaica! dead as a flint, yea hard as an adamant, unfeeling to all that comes of and from God! Dost thou think the Omnipotent will change his laws for thy corrupted customs' sake!" This testimony was in truth. Up to the year 1800, when other missionaries joined the Brethren, and their united efforts gradually began to make an impression, with the exception of a very few poor Negroes under instruction, the whole population, white and black, appear to have been sunk in ungodliness, knowing no other god than Mammon, and the lusts of the flesh. Though there were a few churches, they were not often opened, even on the Sabbath day, and six or ten persons might perhaps be found in them, when well attended. The white inhabitants of the island, fifty years ago, were much more numerous than at present, but sunk in profligacy and drunkenness; and as regards the Negroes, they were like the beasts of the field; indeed masters and slaves stood, in their moral and religious character, very much on a level. When we compare their present moral and religious state with what it was formerly, we see that there has been indeed a wonderful, an astonishing change; we forget then all the deficiencies still remaining, and speak confidently of the wonders wrought amongst them by means of the power and influence of the blessed gospel. It is good for us sometimes to

remember past mercies, and compare the former times with the present, to understand and know what great things have been effected. The tree grows but slowly; from one day, from one week to the other, no growth is perceptible, and we might suppose there had been no change; but it is not so from year to year, the difference in size cannot then be mistaken. So likewise in our mission labours; when we look back after a number of years, we are astonished at the progress which has been made, though at the time it might appear to superficial observers as if little was being done. We believe all who know anything of the history of the mission in Jamaica will confess that it holds forth much encouragement to its friends and supporters to persevere, and not faint in prosecuting their labours. This will become still clearer as we proceed with our narrative.

Jamaica may certainly be called a beautiful, and even a splendid island. There is but little level land. The description which Columbus is said to have given of it, when, in answer to enquiries, he took a sheet of paper, and crushing it in his hand, laid it on the table, is not improper. Mountain ranges traverse the land in every direction, rising in those parts where our mission stations are situated to the height of 2000 feet above the level of the sea, while in the East of the island, they are from 6000 to 8000 feet high. Innumerable conical hills of less height stud the country. The land is fruitful, in some parts very rich, the vegetation wonderfully quick; besides all the tropical fruits found in abundance, most, if not all, the European vegetables may be cultivated in the higher mountains with advantage. Jamaica means "the land of springs," having more springs and rivers than any other of the West-India Islands. The northern and eastern parts of the island abound in them, but in the western part, where our stations lie, there are but few springs and rivers:

there we have to depend upon the rain, which is collected in cisterns, for our supply of water; this is much purer and of a better taste than even the spring water. In long droughts, which frequently occur, when the supply fails, great distress and suffering are occasioned thereby. The land is rich in limestone, which rises in immense rocks and sometimes in curious formations, showing the action of water upon it. Sea shells, some of them unknown in the present day, are found everywhere embedded in the rocks, and many feet deep in the soil, proving that this island must have risen out of the sea, or have been once overflowed with water. Within the last years rich copper mines have been discovered. Caverns abound throughout the island; these are certainly ordered by a wise Providence to absorb the heavy rains, and give vent for the gaseous vapours, which frequently occasion earthquakes, to escape from the bowels of the earth. Jamaica is much less exposed to earthquakes than the Windward Islands. On the 7th of June, 1792, nearly the whole of Port-Royal, at that time the depot of all the riches of the West, was entirely destroyed and sunk into the sea. Since that time no serious earthquake has taken place, though shocks of less or more violence are frequently felt.

The climate is varied. In the Lowlands the heat is at times almost intolerable, on account of the absence of the sea-breeze, and consequently, the inland parts of Jamaica are more unhealthy than the smaller islands. The thermometer frequently rises to 95, and varies generally from 75 to 90 degrees. At an elevation of some thousand feet, the climate is delightfully cool and healthy, and fevers rarely occur: here the thermometer averages at from 65 to 75 degrees, and in January it sometimes sinks as low as 48 degrees Fahrenheit. The seasons have, as the old inhabitants assert, not been as regular for the last twentyyears as formerly, and less rain has fallen.

The disease to which Europeans are so much subject, is a bilious remittent or yellow fever, which frequently proves fatal. During my residence in the island I have been four times attacked by this sickness, and every time was brought to the verge of the grave, and not expected to live. And even after the crisis had passed, it was always two or three months before I felt my strength restored. The disease begins with head-ache, pain, giddiness, retching, and fever; delirium and an entire prostration of strength follow. After labouring for a week under this disease, and after a night spent in wild delirium, I found myself sitting in an arm-chair, conscious of my existence, but memory, all recollection, and all knowledge had faded away. For hours I sat looking upon the objects around me like a new-born babe, wondering at every thing I saw, being unconscious of my own name, or office, or any thing, except that I was alive. Suddenly my recollection returned, and at the same time a feeling and consciousness that I was dying. I felt death, as it were overshadowing, creeping slowly over me. "I am dying," I lisped, with that utter indifference which is characteristic of the disease, and resigned myself to my fate. By strong stimulants, and a continual rubbing of the whole body for an hour, I was recalled to life, fell into a deep sleep for several hours, and awoke saying "I shall yet live." Without passing through such a trial, it is not less afflicting to endure the daily enervating influence of a tropical sun in the Lowlands. Without any exertion, without moving, the perspiration is profuse; languor, lassitude, inability and disinclination for mental exertion comes over the whole system, and the individual feels his spirit, and strength, failing him; he ceases to live, and only vegetates. Four of our stations in Jamaica are situated in the Lowlands, the other nine are in the mountains, in a salubrious, and for some months of the year,

invigorating air. Those brethren stationed in the Lowlands are therefore called to a mountain residence when their strength fails, while those from the mountains for a time supply their places. We are in this respect particularly favoured here, and have a great advantage over our brethren in the Windward Islands. During the last ten years there has been less sickness, and death has not been so frequent among the missionaries in the West Indies as in former years. Though no remedy has been discovered to prevent or cure tropical fevers, I think this may be chiefly attributed to a different mode of living. Formerly it was thought indispensably necessary, and generally advised, to use spiritous liquors, and not even a glass of pure water was permitted—it must be converted into grog. This absurd and dangerous belief has providentially been exploded, and experience has proved, that intoxicating drink in the West Indies is not only unnecessary but absolutely injurious to health. In consequence, our missionaries are not only temperate, but most of them abstain entirely from all alcoholic drink. The use of cold-water bathing, which is very general, is not only invigorating, but promotes free perspiration; and a change of diet, substituting fresh meat for salt meat, may likewise have much contributed to preserve health and life. There are very few Europeans able to endure the heat without being subject to fever, most of them have to pass through a season of sickness by which they are acclimatised. The animal heat of the body is in all northern nations of higher temperature, and this climatisation consists simply in reducing the animal heat of the body. Some assert that a vegetable diet only, would effect this, and there is certainly much in the nature of the climate to support the opinion.

There is no mission-field where disease and death have been so active as in the West Indies. A reference to our registries

proves this, and the preservation of health and life is a subject well worthy, in every way, the serious attention of the supporters of the mission. Since the commencement of the mission in Jamaica in 1754, sixty-four brethren and sisters have been buried here, and how short has been the time of their service!

The following statement will show the length of service of the 64 Missionaries who have departed this life in Jamaica.

2 were drowned by accident.	3 served for eight years.
6 died within one year.	2 ..... nine years.
10 served only one year.	2 ..... ten years.
7 served for two years.	1 ..... eleven years.
7 ..... three years.	2 ..... twelve years.
8 ..... four years.	1 ..... thirteen years.
5 ..... five years.	1 ..... fourteen years.
2 ..... six years.	1 ..... fifteen years.
3 ..... seven years.	1 ..... nineteen years.

Of the 64 brethren and sisters who died in the service of the Jamaica Mission, there was only one who lived to endure the severity of that service for nineteen years!

Since the commencement of the mission, 193 brethren and sisters have been engaged in the work—64 died in the island, 98 have returned home, or were called to labour in other islands, and 31 are now engaged in the service here.

Of all these 193 brethren and sisters, one brother served in the West Indies for a term of 30 years, two for 28, and three for 25; the time of all the others was much shorter.

Of the 31 missionaries at present employed in the service, two have been engaged for 22 years, two for 17, two for 16, four for 11, one for 10 years, and the remaining 20 for a still shorter period.

When we compare these statistics, we find the average time of service of a missionary in Jamaica to have been formerly

less than five years, while at the present time it is nearly nine. This fully bears out our statement that the mortality among missionaries in the present day is far less than formerly.

The coloured and black people of this island are likewise subject to fever, but very few die of it. A medical author of some celebrity here states, that in a practice of twenty years, he has known only two black men to die of the yellow fever. Many amongst them attain to a very high age; I myself have known several, who though they could not state the year of their birth, were unquestionably above 100 years of age. On the other hand, there are several most loathsome diseases peculiar to the Negro race, to which the white man is not subject, as the Yaws, the Cosobay, and others; but they are in general only fatal after many years suffering. The cause of death among them is most frequently old age, consumption, and dropsy. Dysentery, as an epidemic, frequently carries away many, and fearful were the ravages of the Cholera amongst them in 1850 and 1851. During the last year, numbers were likewise swept away by the small pox. But on the whole, the mortality among the natives is very moderate; and our church registers of births and deaths show that the population is increasing rapidly, as the number of births is one-third more than the number of deaths. There is abundant room for a growing population; Jamaica is as yet very thinly inhabited, counting but sixty persons upon every square mile, which gives ten acres to every individual. In the centre of the island there is still an unbroken forest of 30 miles in length by 20 in breadth, untrodden by the foot of man, except the hunter who seeks for wild hogs, which have roamed at large since the time when they were first introduced by the Spaniards. Monkeys or other wild animals are not found in these forests: even of the parrot-tribe, only the two smaller green parrots are to be found. Besides a variety of

pigeons, some smaller birds, and some snakes, of which none are poisonous, the largest measuring nine feet; no other animals are there to enliven the solitude.

These few statements, which have more or less reference to the mission and the well-being of those engaged in it, may be useful to those who shall yet enter the mission service in the West Indies, and perhaps not without interest to those who support the labours of the Lord's servants in this part of the world.

The time of slavery in these islands has happily passed away, and we may now speak with more freedom of the parties concerned in it, than would have been expedient and prudent in former days. There were among the proprietors but few, who, in the midst of the wealth and splendour which surrounded them, wrung from the sweat and blood of their unfortunate slaves, remembered them and their wants and grievances; few who would return to them a pittance of their earnings, by employing a missionary to speak to them of their souls' salvation. Those few deserve to be honoured; they form an exception. However, I am not inclined to say much on this subject; it is only by comparing the few exceptions, with those who were still more selfish, that we can discover anything particularly laudable in their conduct. If when conscience told them all was not right, and they sent a missionary in the hope of saving the soul of the slave, while his body was given to destruction, and spent one per cent of the unrighteous mammon as a balm to their wounded conscience, there was nothing very praiseworthy in it. Or if they believed that their slaves, being taught the will and commandment of the Lord, would become more submissive and obedient, would learn to serve their master faithfully as if they served the Lord, and thus be more profitable, what is there to deserve commendation in this? Nevertheless, we must make allowance for the ignorance that prevailed formerly

and not judge them harshly by the light which we have at present. Slavery was no sin to them, at least they did not know and feel it as such; and we believe the motive that induced many proprietors, especially one hundred years ago, to have their slaves instructed, was pure and deserving of praise. These good intentions were, however, in most cases, if not entirely frustrated, yet so much hindered, that scarcely the tenth part of the good they wished to effect could be realized. Their attorneys and overseers were the real masters, and threw obstacles in the way of the missionary, entirely out of his power to remove. In most instances, they put him to such annoyances, to such inconvenience, scorn and ridicule, that it required on his part no small degree of humility, forbearance, and self-denial. Complaints on his side were not only fruitless, but brought him into disgrace on every hand. There was nothing left for him but quiet submission—to bear the cross, and commit his cause to him who judgeth righteously. And as to his standing, his authority and influence among the slaves, let any one, but for a moment, consider with what feelings they must have looked upon him, and what conceptions they must have formed. Here was a missionary supported by the proprietor, as it were in his employ; another officer added to the staff of agents on the plantation; to him the overseer complained of the laziness and disobedience of the slaves; he was expected to reprove them, to tell them to obey and work diligently. For instance, let us accompany the missionary to the sick-house; the overseer would be with him, and, if possible, not allow him to speak to the sick out of his hearing; there he would find many laid up with sores and various diseases; all were accused by the overseer of feigning disease for the sake of escaping from labour, or wilfully irritating their sores, that they might continue idle; and the missionary, instead of being permitted to

speak a word of comfort and condolence, would be called upon to lecture them on the sin of deception and idleness. This is no imaginary tale, but taken from life. We enquire, What impression could a missionary make upon the minds of the slaves under such circumstances? Why, they looked upon him in no other light than that of a spiritual police officer, sent out to care for the interests of the proprietor. How difficult was it for him to convince these poor people, that he had come among them out of love to their souls—that he really loved them, wished to comfort them, and, if possible, to save their souls. This is the reason why our congregations on all those plantations where the missionary was under obligation, and in a great measure under the control of the proprietor, have been but small and insignificant in number, while the Negroes flocked in crowds to attend the ministry of those missionaries who were themselves free agents. Among the Brethren, the choice lay, in most instances, between submitting quietly to these hindrances, and faithfully doing all the good in their power under such adverse circumstances, or being driven away without accomplishing any good. They therefore preferred the former, and hence their humility and self-denial deserve both our respect and admiration. The proprietors in England were entirely ignorant of the real state of things on their estates; and though some of them, when informed, sent out orders to have the evil remedied; these orders were, by their agents, easily frustrated and made of no avail. The proprietors themselves may have meant well; and, as they continue to support the mission, even to this day, long after slavery has ceased to exist, they certainly have given evidence of their disinterestedness, and deserve our acknowledgments. May the Lord reward and bless them.

It appears that the proprietors of those estates where the Brethren were first located, were aware of the hindrances

that would most probably be thrown in the way of the gospel, by their agents in the island; for in 1763 they sent out a Moravian Brother to act as attorney on their plantations. I am not informed whether this arrangement answered its end, but I doubt it much. It was hardly to be expected that it would. Where temporal and spiritual interests are in opposition to one another, and one must suffer, it is not difficult to determine what decision poor sinful man will make. After the return of this brother to Europe, in 1780, no other was sent out to supply his place.

What has been stated is only another illustration of the curse of slavery. Of its attendant evils, sins, and debasing influence, much might still be said. It is true I have never been an eye witness of its actual existence; but, coming here the year after liberty had been proclaimed to the captive, I have heard and seen enough of its consequences to convince me that it is impossible to overrate them; so that I have learned to hate the whole system of slavery from my very heart. The absentee proprietor, if an honourable man, might send out instructions to have his slaves well treated, and properly provided for, and would take credit to himself for having done all he could, believing, no doubt, that his intentions would be faithfully carried out; meanwhile, his agents here did as they pleased—and who was to hinder them? who would venture to complain? It is not possible to speak in too strong language of the utter contempt with which the *actual* slave master looked upon his slaves! If we say that he regarded them as beasts and chattels, it is doubtful whether we do not take too favourable a view of his conduct; for there was frequently a harshness and cruelty exercised towards the slaves, which was not shown to dumb animals. And even those whose naturally kind disposition did not allow them to illtreat the slave, nevertheless despised him from their very heart. The slave

was to them their beast of burden, the tool of their lust, and sometimes their plaything. Under such a system, let any one but reflect for a moment, on the character which will be developed in the person of the poor slave. What is it that makes man a *man?* We reply, a consciousness of his responsibility to God and man, producing in him a feeling of self-respect. But what responsibility to his Creator—to his God, can a slave feel, when he, in innumerable instances, is forced to do what his conscience tells him is sin? What self-respect can a slave have, when he finds himself the tool of another man's will? He knows nothing of those feelings which alone can make a man to be *a man!* He becomes an intelligent being without character; his only aim is self-preservation; selfishness becomes the personification of his being. From his youth up, the slave is tutored in deception, and all means become alike lawful to him for the attainment of his object. This is the legitimate consequence of slavery in the person of the slave! What a systematic effort is this to efface and destroy every trace that may still be left of the divine image in man! What a slow, systematic murder of all intelligence and character! And how cruel and unjust, after having made the slave what he is, to turn round and charge his depravity upon himself, as if this were his real character! It is true there are instances, and perhaps not a few, in which even under such a system of evil, a man has proved his integrity. There are, in the history of the slaves, many instances of virtuous and noble actions; there are very many proofs that faith in Him who "took upon him the form of a servant" for our sakes, and "tasted death for every man," has enabled them to withstand the crushing effects of slavery, but they are exceptions,—they excite our wonder and admiration, but they do not in any way mitigate or excuse the evil.

Slavery, as a curse, settles alike upon the slave and his

master. And, alas! there are few men that can live in the gloom of sin, and not have their eyes blinded; few men that can behold sin, be surrounded with it, breathe its tainted air, become familiarized with it, and yet be kept unpolluted. However revolting it may be at first sight to the feelings of a man, especially a christian, yet gradually his feelings become blunted, the emotions of his heart weaker, and at last, even the consciousness of sin being lost, he becomes an accomplice—a partaker of the evil. Alas! alas! that it should have been so with our missionaries! Certainly we should wrong them if we were to judge them by the standard and opinion of the present day. One hundred years ago, or even within fifty years, many, even good and christian men, could not see slavery in the light in which we see it—their vision was beclouded, so that they could not see in it the sin and evil of which we complain; they might see and mourn over the evil consequences, but the thing itself was still, in their opinion, an ordinance of the Lord, who maketh the rich and poor, and ordaineth to every man his station. Still, all this does not alter the thing itself, and we, in our day, regret it exceedingly, much more than we can express, that ever our missionaries became slave-holders. The first instance of this occurred in St. Thomas, and the occasion is worthy of notice, and should be remembered. It was about the year 1740, that one of the Brethren, stationed by himself, was taken ill with fever, and was left without any one as a nurse, to attend upon him. When in this pitiable and forsaken state, the congregation, *slaves themselves*, collected money and purchased a slave, whom they presented to their minister to attend upon him in his forlorn situation. This was the first slave possessed by a Moravian missionary. They could not procure free servants, and having become familiarized with slavery, they were thus led to purchase and

hold slaves as servants. About this time, the missionaries in Jamaica generally lived in a house, which was placed at their disposal by the proprietor, on the plantations where they laboured. Some time after the above circumstances, with the sanction of the directing board in Europe, they purchased a small estate, and supported themselves in their missionary work, by the labour of from thirty to forty slaves. We confess this for the sake of truth; but we grieve over it, and believe that the Lord *winked* at those times of ignorance. (See Acts xvii. 30.) Can it be wondered at that these slaves would not attend the ministry of their masters, the missionaries? Very few could be persuaded at any time, of their own freewill, to attend the meetings; the generality would only come when they were commanded. Here is an extract of their diary, as late as February 9th, 1809: "We have ventured, in the name of the Lord, to command our Negroes to attend the meetings; for a period of four years, not more than four or five would attend, and we think we have a right to command them to come in." But let us not condemn these Brethren as unfeeling men, who followed their calling as a profession, without life and spirit. Their diaries abound with prayers expressive of an earnest and longing desire for the salvation of the slaves, and a spirituality of mind which might well put us to shame. To the above extract from their diary they add: "But what are all regulations and good intentions, except ratified, and approved, and blessed, and sprinkled, and watered from above by the Father of mercies in the Beloved?—'A sounding brass—a tinkling cymbal!'" So strangely are light and darkness, spirituality and ignorance, sometimes mingled together in man! The Judge of all the earth—He that knoweth the secrets of the hearts of men, he alone is able to judge in righteousness.

It is a considerable time since the establishment of the

mission at Old Carmel was entirely broken up, the place sold, and the remaining slaves liberated. The name of the Brethren's Church stands now cleared of the evil of slavery; and confessing our past sin as a sin of ignorance, we believe the Lord has pardoned our transgression, and feel comforted by the fact that we have abandoned it for ever.

CHAPTER I.

1754 TO 1809.

ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST MISSIONARIES—THE FIRST MISSION STATION—MISSIONARY LABOURS—SUCCESS—NEGRO SUPERSTITIONS—BAPTISM—STRENGTH OF FAITH—UNWILLINGNESS TO RECEIVE THE GOSPEL ON OUR PLANTATION—MORE MISSIONARIES ARRIVE—DIFFERENCE OF OPINION CONCERNING BAPTISM—ITS INFLUENCE UPON THE MISSION—REVIVAL—OLD CARMEL—LABOURS OF THE MISSIONARIES AT THAT PLACE.

In the parish of St. Elizabeth are situated several sugar estates, Elim, Lancaster, Two-mile-wood, and the Bogue, the property of the Foster and Barham families, names well known in our church and mission. A hundred years ago, the proprietors of these plantations applied to the United Brethren for missionaries to preach the gospel to their slaves. The Brethren, ever ready to listen to such an application, complied with their request, and on the seventh of December, 1754, the Brethren Zecharias Caries, Thomas Shallcross, and Gotlieb Haberecht arrived in Jamaica. The Bogue Estate, on which the Brethren were located, and the other estates above named, are situated in a most unhealthy locality at the foot of the Manchester mountains, too far inland to admit the burning and intolerable heat to be mitigated by the sea-breeze. The land is very rich and productive, the sugar-cane thrives remarkably well, and the Black river, navigable for large boats, offers every accommodation for shipping. Altogether,

this part of the country possesses so many advantages, that we need not be surprized to hear, that no fewer than nine hundred slaves belonged to these plantations; and that the produce of their labour was a rich mine of wealth.

The house inhabited by the missionaries, of which the foundation wall only remains, stood on a little eminence and close by the wretched huts of the Negro slaves, in the midst of a plantation of the beautiful cocoa-nut palm, and formed a large village. Every morning, with the first dawn of day, the shell was blown to call the slaves to their work, and every one was expected to appear immediately and join his party; each gang of Negroes walked off to the field under the direction of the driver, likewise a Negro, armed with a long whip. The children, from six to twelve years of age, under the care of an elderly Negress, likewise armed with a rod, formed another gang, and proceeded to clean the pasture, or any other work suited to their strength. These Negro drivers were steeled against all pity and compassion, being generally as much brutalized as man could be. The gangs went to work and toiled all day in the sun, their only covering being a cloth tied round their loins. In digging cane-holes they were expected to keep the line, and any one not keeping it with the rest felt the driver's whip. There was no remission of work, except in the middle of the day to take their meals. Late in the evening, after the setting of the sun, they returned weak and faint, and, not unfrequently, were forced, for hours together, to continue their labour by the light of the moon. And then, their work having been examined by the overseer, those with whom he was dissatisfied, whether man or woman, were ordered to be flogged. They were laid on the ground, and before the whip had descended the third time, were covered with blood. I am informed by a missionary, who resided in this locality, that not an evening passed without his hear-

ing the crack of the whip and the shrieks of the victims. Aged and weak persons would frequently run in despair to the missionary's house, fall upon their knees before him, and with uplifted hands, beg him to have pity and intercede for them. But what could he do? He was as much despised as the slaves. He would write a line to the overseer, begging him to have mercy; and sometimes, but not frequently, his intercession prevailed to save the poor creature. Day after day the same toil, the same scenes continued, until Sunday, when the slaves went to the market to bring home a supply for the week, or to their provision grounds, to labour for their own support.

When, or at what time, could a missionary labour among these people? One or two hours during the week were allowed to the slaves to attend his ministry, and when they had returned home at night he might be seen making his way through their houses, sitting down with them by the fire while they cooked their evening meal, conversing with and teaching them. On Sunday he preached in the afternoon to those who were really desirous of being instructed. During the night they worked in their provision grounds, in order to gain an hour in the day to attend the meeting. This sad picture is not overdrawn, it is literally true. May we not ask, if the life of a missionary, under such circumstances, might not be called a continual martyrdom? Like Lot in Sodom, he might vex his righteous soul from day to day, his eyes might be rivers of water, but there was no change; the heavens appeared as brass, and the hearts of the poor Negroes as the nether millstone. Well may we enquire, How could a man with sensitive feelings, with a heart full of love, endure this? Would he not in some measure resemble the Lord Jesus Christ, when he was among a rebellious people, and endured the contradiction of sinners against himself? Nothing but

the remembrance of his bright and glorious example could enable the faithful missionary to persevere in his labours. And with regard to the Negroes, who could expect them, worn out and wearied with toil, to have ears to hear the gospel and hearts to feel its power? And yet their very misery constrained them to listen. Here was a man, a white man, who was not too proud to enter their huts and sit down by their fire-side; how strange! this appeared to them unaccountable! He came to them as a friend; he spoke to them of love! What did they know of love? Who loved them? They heard of the pity and compassion of a Saviour—how he died out of love for them! They heard of heaven, of rest, of happiness! What strange words to them! When peace and prosperity smile upon us, we are too prone to forget God, and become worldly-minded; when we are in affliction, and adversities crowd around us, we are too prone to rebel, to murmur and despair; but when we are in the depth of misery, when even hope has left us, when no change is thought of, when the heart is thoroughly crushed and humbled, then we listen, then we turn an attentive ear to any distant sound of help and deliverance. So experience taught the missionaries at that time, and the same experience is made by them unto this day. However the slaves were not always dejected. It was the master's interest to make them feel merry and happy; they often drank and danced; but times of distress and affliction, especially when labouring under their master's displeasure, were but too common.

The missionaries entered upon their labours with a zeal and a love for souls which nothing could subdue, and the Lord accompanied their testimony in preaching the gospel with the demonstration and power of the Spirit. Within the first year not less than 26 Negro slaves were baptized; and at the close of the second year, the congregation of christian slaves con-

sisted of 77 baptized members and 400 catechumens, under instruction for holy baptism. We know that our Brethren, at that time, did not go to convert the Negroes to a mere nominal christianity; they were not satisfied with a mere formal confession of faith. They had no faith in what is called baptismal regeneration; they required evidence of a true faith, a renewed heart, before they would admit a person to baptism, as the sign of remission of sins. It is truly astonishing what blessings followed the labours of our first missionaries everywhere. They were faithful in sowing, planting, and watering, and God gave the increase. Their love to the souls intrusted to their care was so fervent, that appearances could not prejudice the slaves against them; they flocked in crowds to hear them, and their stated attendance was not less than 800 hearers. So much did the word prevail that the attention even of the white people was arrested, their enmity was overcome, and they requested that the gospel might be preached to them likewise. Many attended the meetings for preaching to the slaves, some no doubt to ridicule and find fault, but they were found of him whom they did not seek, and were converted from enemies into friends. The missionaries therefore began to preach on the sabbath-days to overseers and bookkeepers, who assembled in the morning, and to the Negroes in the afternoon. Thus a most hopeful beginning was made; the mustard seed was sown, and promised to grow up a large tree.

The following extract from the diary of Br. Zecharias Caries, while it shows the character and zeal of this faithful servant of God, illustrates likewise the influence he had gained over the slaves and their masters, and the confidence which he enjoyed. He writes, "January 1756, I rose, after a severe attack of fever, and kept the evening meeting, but the fever returned with such force, that Mr. Robinson, a neighbouring

planter, told me I was in danger. I knew better. To be with the Lord was certainly preferable, but as there are no other Brethren here, I have agreed with my Saviour not to leave these poor Negroes at present. The doctor was called to bleed me. Mr. Heath likewise called to comfort me, but I told him how our Saviour's anguish, pain, and death had comforted me; that I felt happy and content, and would gladly go home to my Saviour, if it were not for the work which I had to do for him here. I took the opportunity to preach the gospel to him, and he thanked me with tears in his eyes.

"About twenty little Negro children kneeled round my bed, and prayed that the Saviour would allow me to remain with them; the catechumens did the same, the room being four times filled by them; and lastly came the baptized Negroes to see me. I spoke to all of them of the suffering Saviour, of going to be with him, and of seeing the wounds in his hands, and feet, and side. The fever and headache increased, and against my will the doctor was recalled; he and several others remained the whole day; they pitied me on account of the pain which I endured; but I told them how our Saviour's sufferings comforted me. Several other gentlemen called. I believe the Lord has sent me this sickness, that I might have an opportunity to say, in conversation with them, what otherwise they would not come to hear.

"Feb. 4th, the doctor and several others called and thought my end near, as symptoms of dissolution showed themselves, but I spoke to them of the Saviour. The 6th, I became quite delirious, and the miserable state of the white people in the island occupied my mind. The 7th, the fever and head-ache abated. The doctor enquired why I had been so much distressed last night? I told him it was on account of the white people, whose wicked life was a grief to our Saviour, and an offence to the heathen. I took opportunity to speak the truth

plainly to him, and told him I wished he would care for his own soul as he had cared for me in my sickness. The poor man was moved to tears."

Of the effect of his labours and the heartfelt change which had taken place in those baptized, we may judge from an entry in his diary of 1755. "I heard that somebody had offered a horse to my servant Lewis, on the condition of his doing something which neither the black nor white people here think to be wrong, but which was against his conscience. He refused it, and answered: 'I will not lose my soul to gain a horse!'"

"December. The Negro Job visited us to-day, and said, with emotion, 'I feel something in my heart, as if the Saviour had kindled a fire there, which makes me glad.' He did not know rightly how to understand this, but Br. Shallcross explained to him with force and unction, that Jesus had come into this world to kindle such a fire. We read for him the history of the two disciples whom the Saviour met and conversed with on their way to Emmaus, and how they felt their hearts burn within them while he explained to them his death, and the cause of it. Job was much moved, and tears ran down his cheeks abundantly. We closed the day with happy and cheerful hearts for this gift, which was more acceptable to us, than if somebody had given us a whole plantation."

The slaves, mostly Africans, were, at that time, much attached to their heathenish religion, which is of the lowest kind, the worship of the Fetish; any object that may be chosen for religious worship, and accounted holy. Some of them were Mahomedans, who had learned to say their prayers in Arabic, but these were not numerous; by far the greater part adhered to their heathenish practices, such as the sacrifice of fowls, and other offerings at the grave of departed

friends, and many such customs. Their faith in witchcraft, or Obeah, was at that time very strong, and this and similar customs were much practised. Those who were baptized, and became communicants, found unspeakable comfort in the simple belief that they were now the property of the Lord Jesus, and that witchcraft had lost its power over them. When at a later period, the slaves were baptized in some of the churches, as a matter of form and custom, their faith in the preserving grace of God, as experienced by baptized believers, was considerably weakened. We do not consider baptism as another form of superstition, but, when rightly understood, we look upon it as an evidence of true faith. A baptized and converted heathen feels that he has escaped out of the snare of the devil, and this conviction gives him comfort and security. But when baptism is a mere form, this cannot be the case. The new converts were indeed but weak and feeble, and their religious knowledge was very circumscribed. It could not be otherwise, with the scanty means they had for instruction, and the few opportunities which they had for hearing the truth, especially in those places where baptism was preached as a saving ordinance instead of the gospel. It has, however, always been a rule with the Brethren rather to take the affections and dispositions of the heart, as a qualification for baptism, than mere knowledge. The confession of our sinful state, faith in the forgiveness of sins through the bloodshedding and death of the Lord Jesus, love to him, and a willingness to obey his commandments,—this is the knowledge and state of mind and heart, which, we believe, qualifies a heathen for baptism.

This infant congregation consisted of persons upon whose minds and hearts the love of the Saviour had made an impression, and who were willing to learn, and to be taught the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus. Their strength did

not consist so much in knowledge as in love; their desire was to experience the power of this love; and they were taught to give practical evidence of it by a walk and conversation becoming the gospel. I have known more than one old, ignorant African Negro, who knew nothing else but that Jesus was his Saviour, and therefore loved him so as to endure persecution unto death; these were believers whom no earthly power could turn aside. Old John, at H—, would walk twenty miles every Saturday night to the place where Br. Zecharias Caries preached. He was beaten, and threatened with the utmost torture if he persisted in going to hear the gospel. "Massa," he said, "you may kill me, but I will go." The next Saturday he went again, secretly; travelling all night, and when returning after the Sabbath, to be in his place on Monday morning, thinking himself quite alone, a man on horseback overtook him, and asked his name. It was dark, but he recognized the voice of his master, and said, "It is your John!" With a curse he was asked if he had been at church? He said, "I have, and Jesus is sweet to me; I must not let him go, Massa; I must go to church." With another oath, and laying the whip over his head, his master passed on, but did not trouble him again: John had fairly wearied him out. These new converts had many trials and afflictions, which would have turned many of higher knowledge out of the way. It is difficult at all times and everywhere in this wicked world, to be a christian, not almost, but altogether; but to be a slave and a christian, this requires a strength of mind, and a power of faith which the Lord only can inspire. A slaveholder does not acknowledge any other power over his slave than his own. God's commandments, convictions and conscience, he will, and does, set at defiance—he laughs at them. Even after slavery had been abolished, I had once to plead the cause of a former slave against his master, who had

ordered him to do what was awfully sinful. "This man," I said, "knows it and feels it to be wrong; how then can you expect him to do it?" "What," he answered, "did not *I* tell him? What business has he to think, or to judge, or to set up his conscience after *I* have commanded him!" Yes, the slave-holder demands obedience of body and soul, and how is a poor slave to act under such a system? If his faith is stronger than the world, he suffers and becomes a martyr; and to be such a martyr little knowledge is required, love to the Saviour enables him to take the crown.

The converts resided on the Bogue, Elim, and Two-miles-wood plantations. On another plantation named Lancaster, adjoining the Bogue, belonging to the same family, where the Brethren were likewise permitted to preach the gospel, their labours were, and always remained, fruitless. The Negroes of this estate clung to their African superstitions with a pertinacity that could never be overcome. They had little intercourse with the Negroes on other estates: they formed a small colony for themselves, and with sullen indifference turned a deaf ear to the entreaties of the missionaries. The slave-owners found them likewise much more untractable than others; and symptoms of insubordination and rebellion were frequent amongst them. In the present day, that plantation has been abandoned, and the former population has either died out, or settled in other places.

It is a common experience in the kingdom of God, that, no sooner has any good been effected, than efforts are put forth by the prince of darkness to destroy the work of God and render his grace of non-effect. No man had ever cared for the souls of these slaves; they were left in utter ignorance, servants of sin and satan, and without God in the world. The Moravian missionaries were the first who remembered them in their low estate, and spoke to them the word of life. The effect

produced was astonishing; many were the enquiries, "What must I do to be saved?" and numbers having made a good profession of the faith, it could not but be expected that opposition would arise, and obstacles be thrown in the way. In most instances, the white officers on the plantation were the greatest enemies of the gospel. Men sunk in the service of vice and lust, soon discovered that the gospel stood in their way, and they could not brook any denial or opposition. It is not yet thirty years since one of them rode, on a sabbath-morning, into the chapel yard of the mission at the Bogue, armed with a whip, to drive away all his slaves. Along with this, hindrances arose from a quarter, in which, least of all, they might have been expected. Satan succeeded in sowing the seed of discord among the missionaries themselves.

In 1755, Br. Gottlieb Haberecht departed this life, and, in consequence, the labours of the remaining missionaries were so much increased, that they found it necessary to apply to the mission board for assistance; and on December 24th, 1756, the Brethren Rauch and Schulz arrived from North America. Br. Christian Rauch, a most devoted and able man, may well be styled the apostle of the Indians. He had laboured among them since 1740, with great success, so that his name stands forth prominently in the history of the North American mission. This Br. having preached the gospel for fifteen years to a free and intelligent people, the contrast which met him here, among an enslaved population, must have been very striking, and probably this was the reason that he and his companions found fault, and objected to the plan hitherto pursued in this mission. They could not be persuaded to surrender their opinion to the experience and judgment of Br. Caries and his colleague. It appeared to them that the rite of baptism had been administered too hastily. In their opi-

nion, the candidate should have possessed more scriptural knowledge, and should have given more decided evidence of a living faith and of practical religion. A confession of faith in Jesus, even when given apparently with the utmost sincerity, they deemed insufficient for the rite of baptism. They demanded the evidence of good works, and fixed upon a longer time of probation and instruction for the catechumens. There can be no doubt that these Brethren were sincere, and acted according to their convictions, but it does not appear to us that they are supported by scripture. Every instance of baptism that we read of in the New Testament goes to prove, that to be a partaker of this rite, and to become a member of the christian church, all that is required is faith in Jesus, and a confession of this faith before witnesses: this harmonizes with our Saviour's words, "Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all nations, *baptizing* them," and then follows, "teaching them to observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded you." The very character of our first missionaries, as has been stated already, forbids us to suppose that Br. Caries and his colleagues had administered this rite without having evidence of a vital change in their converts, and the sincerity of their profession of faith. Still this rested more upon their own conviction, than upon proofs which only time could furnish. Such proofs these Brethren demanded, before they would baptize any. The missionary work of the Brethren was but in its commencement, and in this, as well as on other subjects, they had to learn lessons from experience; it was therefore scarcely to be wondered at that occasional disagreements arose to disturb their harmony.

It appears that, owing to this difference of opinion, the influence of the Brethren was considerably diminished, and the good cause suffered much in consequence. The catechumens became disheartened and confused, the attendance at the pub-

lic services decreased, and the life and energy that had been manifested during the first two years, departed. In 1759, Br. Nathaniel Seidel was sent here upon a visitation, but his endeavours to reconcile their differences seem to have been unavailing. He left the island the same year, and with him the Brethren Caries and Shallcross, while the Brethren Rauch, Shulz, and five others, with several Sisters who had joined them in 1759, remained to carry on the mission. Their labours do not appear to have been fruitful; but few attended their ministry, and very few were baptized—life and spirit seem to have fled. However, as a proof of the good influence they exercised over the Negroes, it is stated, that on the rebellion of the slaves in 1760, none of their converts joined the rebels. This, after all, is but a negative proof, for the enemy of souls succeeded in hindering the word of God, and keeping his subjects in bondage and darkness: a sad instance of the evil arising from disunion among those who are to be stewards of the mysteries of God, and fellow-workers with him. It reminds us of the apostolic injunction: "Let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same things."

In 1764, Brother Schlegel joined the missionaries at the Bogue. He was an able and devoted man, whose labours were richly blessed by the Lord: his name is mentioned with distinction. Through his instrumentality, a revival took place among the Negroes; again they flocked in numbers to the meeting-house; again many begged to be received into the christian church by baptism; and three years after, in 1767, no fewer than 131 were baptized, and an equal number the year following. But it pleased the Lord soon to call him to himself. He departed in 1770. And from this time until the year 1809, the mission among the Negro slaves in Jamaica remained in a feeble and unsatisfactory state. Not much was, or could be, reported of the labours of the missionaries.

Shortly after the commencement of the mission, in the year 1755, the Brethren became possessed of 700 acres of land, of which only 300 were capable of cultivation, and on this a temporary dwelling was erected for their accommodation. Whether the whole of this land was presented to the Brethren as a gift, or afterwards purchased by them, or whether the dwelling-house was built at the expense of the patrons of the mission, or by the missionaries, I am not informed; but most probably they procured the principal means for the establishment of this station by their own labour. This place was situated about ten miles from the Bogue, and was named New Carmel; it is now called Old Carmel. Here the Brethren, after some time, built the largest house that I have seen in Jamaica. It is eighty-four feet by fifty-four, and twenty feet high. It contains in the centre a large hall, which served as a chapel, capable of accommodating 200 hearers; a passage runs round this hall, by which it is separated from the dwelling-rooms on each side of the house.

Old Carmel is situated in the parish of St. Elizabeth, on the border of a large swamp, in a most unhealthy locality. In fact, 400 acres of the estate are a useless and dangerous marsh, so that sickness and death are frequent visitors there. In 1756, the number of missionaries having been increased to four Brethren and two Sisters, the place was opened as a separate mission station. Sister Schultz, who departed this life in 1757, is the first whose remains are interred in the burying-ground there. In the list of the departed, she is mentioned as "the most faithful heart among us."

The church had, as yet, made no provision for the maintenance of the missionaries. They had no support except the perquisites which were allotted to them by the proprietors

of the estates on which they laboured; but as these perquisites were by no means sufficient to sustain them, they were thrown upon their own resources, and compelled, if possible, to procure a maintenance by the labour of their own hands. They lived in the most humble way, were not ashamed to be employed in any service, such as washing their clothes and attending to all the other offices peculiar to housekeeping; though such things were accounted very degrading in persons of their colour. Thus, in order to provide for their necessary wants, they were led to cultivate the land of Old Carmel, as it appeared to present the most likely means of support; but to do this, at that time, without slave labour was impossible. In this way they were compelled, by necessity, to procure the assistance of slaves, without being alive to the unrighteous practice as we feel it in the present day. There is, however, one redeeming trait in the history of that period. It is evident, from all their diaries, which are still preserved, that they treated their slaves with the utmost kindness. Still, slavery is such a consummate evil, that it is at any time, even with the best intentions, impossible to subdue all the bad consequences resulting from it. No wonder, therefore, if we sometimes read in their reports, of "slaves that feigned sickness, and must be punished;" of others "that ran away, and must wear an iron chain round their necks." Their kindness however, was often abused; still they write thus, apologizing for the poor slaves: "They are a spoiled race: this is not to be wondered at, for nobody ever yet was able to bring good out of evil, to gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles—to make the bitter sweet." One of the brethren was appointed to take charge of the temporal affairs, and to act as overseer at Old Carmel, while the others attended to the preaching of the gospel, and worked at their various trades as time would per-

mit. We should misjudge and wrong them very much were we to suppose that they had sunk into worldly-mindedness, so as to forget their proper call—this was not the case.

From 1756 to 1760, the mission was considerably enlarged. Besides preaching regularly at the Bogue and Old Carmel stations, holding meetings, and visiting slaves on the plantations of their patrons, they had opened another station at Mesopotamia, in the parish of Westmoreland, a sugar plantation belonging to the same family which patronized them at the Bogue, and one brother was appointed to reside there. About this time they were invited by other proprietors to preach the gospel to their slaves; so that within a few years, several new stations were established at Islands and Williamsfield,* in a part of the country called Nassau, about twelve miles from the Bogue, and there also one or other of the brethren went to reside from time to time. They were not permitted to preach on the neighbouring estates, but the slaves from those plantations frequently came by stealth to attend the meetings in the evening. They had public service in the afternoon of the sabbath-day, as it was impossible for the slaves to attend in the morning. On Wednesday evening, they had a public meeting for reading and expounding the scriptures, and on Saturday, the catechumens and the baptized members of the church met for instruction. Besides attending to these services, they diligently visited the sick, the old and infirm, and took every opportunity to spread the saving knowledge of the gospel; still they had to regret the want of success in proportion to their la-

* In the "Historical Sketches," published by our late bishop Holmes, Emmaus is named as a regular station of the Brethren at that time. This, I believe, is a mistake. It is not mentioned in any of the diaries to which I have had access. Emmaus is an estate close to Old Carmel, where the Brethren very likely preached now and then. Their station at the Bogue may have been called Emmaus.

bours, though not left altogether without evidence of the Lord's blessing. During the first fifty years of the mission, that is until 1804, there had been only 936 Negroes baptized; still in all the stations which have been mentioned, a small christian church of from twenty to forty members was maintained. The missionaries met every eight weeks, for consultation, at Old Carmel. The minutes of their conferences are still preserved, but they do not contain much that is calculated to attract particular attention. However, a few extracts, illustrating the state of the mission, may be interesting. "June 21st, 1777. In Elim, Matthew, a communicant brother has been put in the stocks, and received 29 stripes with the whip. Upon enquiry, we find he has been punished unjustly: his only fault was not being submissive enough to the overseer."

"July 19th. We concluded our Conference by calling upon the Lord to forgive us all past sins and shortcomings, and to besprinkle us anew with his precious blood, that we may be his faithful servants to rejoice his heart. His gracious presence was powerfully felt among us."

"Sept. 13th. We read over the names of all those with whom we had conversed previous to the Holy Communion. Fewer Brethren have attended this time than at the last *speaking*, for many are sick. Joseph is much troubled about his brother Isaac, who has been put in the stocks. This family is so closely connected, that we are afraid Joseph may be led astray by it. Titus and Ann Magdalene can never agree, and the latter did not go to the Holy Communion, as she would not ask pardon of Titus. We shall take the first opportunity to speak to them about it."

"Nov. 5th. M. Magdalene is in a bad spirit. When Br. John spoke to her of her bad conduct, she rose up angrily and said "Good bye to you!" The Conference thought best to let her alone for the present; to give her time to con-

sider and repent of her conduct. She is one of our worst members."

"April 5th, 1785. Old John Carpenter, who has already two wives at the Bogue, has taken Susannah, Jacob's widow, to be his third wife. Sophia, one of his wives, came to tell us of this with tears. Br. John sent for him, but he would not come. Br. P. has, however, had an opportunity to converse with them, and they could not deny it. We resolved to exclude them publicly from the congregation."

Every time the Brethren met at conference, they read the list of all their members, and each brother gave an account of those under his care, with reference to their conduct and state of heart. Complaints of the low state of religion, of the absence of true repentance, of faith, and of the decrease of their members, are very frequent, and almost every page is filled with a tale of sin and woe. We might admire their faithfulness in little things, their humility and perseverance, in spite of all discouragements, if we did not at the same time plainly see, that the system under which they laboured, cramped all their energies, left no room for the exercise of talent, quenched the spirit, and was in direct opposition to a feeling of personal responsibility, which is the greatest inducement to exertion. Hindered, not only by the obstacles which slavery throws in the way of all mission labours, they stood towards one another in such subjection, that none of them, even in the smallest things, could act without first seeking and obtaining the consent of the rest. It would have been strange if much success had followed their labours. The brethren who were engaged in this mission at that time, were doubtless men of true piety and devotion, but mostly limited in their knowledge and talent, and all appear to have imbibed a spirit of slavery, in respect to the people among whom they laboured, and likewise towards one another.

In 1779, Br. M. Mack was sent from the directing board of the missions on a visitation to Jamaica, to enquire into the obstacles which prevented the spread of the gospel, and, if possible, to remove them. Being prevented by the war from returning, as soon as he expected, he spent nearly a year in the island, and visited all the different stations. The brethren frequently met in conference; they joined in earnest prayer, and consulted with much sincerity on the best means of forwarding the work of God in their congregations. But this visitation does not appear to have been followed by any essential service or great results. It is beyond the power of the missionary to remove the chief obstacles to the free course of God's word in a slave country. No system could be invented more effectually to hinder and oppose the spread of the gospel than slavery. The slaves had no time to hear the word, except when worn out in body and mind by their cruel bondage; and their souls injured by a system which overthrows all morality, and sets at defiance the plainest commands of scripture. How can there be morality where marriage is illegal? where overseers, bookkeepers, and drivers know no bounds, no obstacles to their evil lusts? How is the debased ignorant heathen to be taught the fear of God, and the heinousness of sin, when he finds himself the victim of evil passions, and the most unblushing immorality, in those who profess to be his superiors, and when he sees his equals treated as the beasts of the field? The most faithful instructions, the most earnest labours, will be ineffectual, if not accompanied by the grace of God. The influence and teaching of God's holy Spirit must *abound;* must work a change, a conviction in the heart of the individual, strong, thorough, and decided; before a poor slave can say with the apostle, "I am persuaded that neither death nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any

other creature, shall be able to separate me from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." Examples of the abounding grace of God were not indeed wanting at this time, among the Negro slaves; still we are not to suppose, even where this change had taken place, that such a one was a pattern of christian perfection. By no means; nevertheless, if the slave was weak and ignorant, yet he learned to love, and was beloved of the Lord. This was his strength. We who have grown up, particularly, in christian families, enjoyed religious instruction from our youth, and are members of those churches in which everything combines to check evil inclinations, and to foster good resolutions, are scarcely able to comprehend the darkness of a heathen's mind. The fortitude, decision, and surrender of the heart to the Saviour, that are requisite to make a slave confess the Lord, by word and action, in the midst of degradation, violence, and cruel depravity, assume in many respects the character of a perpetual martyrdom. If a mission to the Negro slaves really prospers, if instances of such conversions are multiplied, it is a miracle of divine grace, far greater than anything which we meet with in civilized society or christian lands.

I shall conclude this chapter by a brief statement of the regulations adopted by the Brethren's Church to direct her missionaries in their practice towards the Negro slaves particularly with regard to polygamy and marriage.

It has been stated already, that the labours of the missionaries, from the year 1770 until 1809, were not accompanied with such demonstrations of the Holy Spirit and power upon many as would enable them to rejoice in their work, though they were encouraged to persevere by seeing occasionally some proof of their labours in the conversion of a few. To teach these the commandments of the Lord, and to maintain a christian conduct, was their earnest desire.

But here again, they met with almost insurmountable difficulties, of which one, common to all slave countries, may be mentioned. Polygamy was the usual practice among the slaves, indeed it was forced upon them by the circumstances in which they were placed. Marriages were illegal. Nevertheless, the members of the congregation were solemnly joined in matrimony at a meeting of the Christian Negroes, when they gave one another the hand and promised faithfulness. These unions were justly considered binding in the church, though not recognized by the laws of the land. And if the husband or the wife proved unfaithful, they were publicly excluded from the congregation. But it was by no means uncommon for one or the other to be sold to a distant part of the island, without any prospect of ever meeting again. In such cases, it was difficult to know how to decide; those rules recognized in all christian lands as binding, were often inapplicable, and impossible to be carried out. The rules referring to polygamy and marriage among heathen converts adopted by the Synod of the Brethren's Church, and which served for the direction of the missionaries in such cases, were the following, which we believe to be according to scripture, though perhaps, those who have never considered the matter before, may not be able at once to satisfy their own minds on the subject. "When a Negro man or woman applies to be baptized, or to be received into the congregation, strict enquiry is to be made concerning every circumstance attending his or her situation and connexion in life. If it is found that a man has more than one wife, the question arises, how the Brethren have to advise him in this particular. St. Paul says, "If any brother has a wife that believeth not, (one that is yet a heathen) and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away."* But again, he says, "A bishop must be

* 1 Cor. vii. 12.

blameless, the husband of one wife."* In these passages we have the teaching of the holy scriptures concerning this subject; the Brethren are therefore of opinion that the missionaries should keep strictly to the following regulations.

"1st. That they should not compel a man, who had, before his conversion, taken more than one wife, to put away one or more of them, without her or their consent.

"2nd. But yet, that they would not appoint such a man to be a helper or servant in the church.

"3rd. That a man who believeth in Christ, if he marry, should only take one wife in marriage, and that he is bound to keep himself only to that woman till death part them.

"4th. If by the sale of Negroes, wives are torn from their husbands, and husbands from their wives, and carried off to distant parts, though the Brethren cannot advise, yet they cannot hinder a regular marriage with another person, especially if a family of young children, or other circumstances, seem to make a help-meet necessary, and as is mostly the case, no hope remains of the former ever returning."

* 1 Tim. iii. 2.

CHAPTER II.

1809 TO 1823.

BROTHER LANG—HIS LAMENTATIONS—AWAKENING—G. LEWIS—ROBERT PEART—EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF OLD CARMEL—BR. LANG'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. H.—SPREAD OF THE GOSPEL IN THE MILE GULLY MOUNTAINS—BAPTISM IN THE STATE-CHURCH—VISIT OF THE CUSTOS OF ST. ELIZABETH PARISH AT OLD CARMEL—ACCUSATION AGAINST THE MISSIONARIES—ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW EDEN—PREACHING ON VARIOUS ESTATES.

In 1805, Brother John Lang having arrived from England to labour in this mission, was stationed in Old Carmel. His name will long be remembered with much love and esteem. He was a prudent, zealous and gifted missionary, ardent in spirit, and earnest in his endeavours to win souls for Christ. To him the lifeless state of the mission was almost unbearable; his diary contains many fervent prayers to the Lord for his blessing, and for the outpouring of his Spirit upon the people whom he found sitting in darkness and the shadow of death. March 31st, 1809, he writes: "During this week (Passion-week,) we had meetings every day, and called upon the Negroes in our neighbourhood to attend. We have contemplated our Saviour's suffering scenes, and also enjoyed his testament. But though not without a blessing to ourselves, the power of darkness resting upon all around us is immense. Whether the Good Shepherd will find some willing to be car-

ried to his fold, I know not. If he receives any, greater miracles were never wrought! To the best of my knowledge there was not a single individual among the slaves who attended the meetings, whose heart was touched in the least degree with a single spark of grace. Here we are! for what? I know not. To despair after a trial of fifty years might be natural. Suppose we are here as a witness against them on the day of judgment! Oh, poor office! A witness for destruction! Lord have mercy! Lord look down upon us! Though surrounded by discouragements beyond description, yet despair we will not. The Father is greater than all, the Son is equally great; should not his blood prevail? Amen." And on September 8th, 1812, the following entry is made with pencil on the same page: "Some of our Negroes are now willing."

This pleasing change was brought about in the following manner. At the close of the last century, several Wesleyan and Baptist missionaries arrived at Jamaica, and preached the gospel in Kingston and its vicinity; and, at the same time, a number of Negroes, belonging to the Baptist Church, came over from America, and zealously endeavoured to propagate the faith, as far as they knew it, among the people; these latter, however, being very ignorant, and unable to read the word of God, entertained many superstitious notions, and preached but a spurious gospel: still Christ was preached—the labours of all these were not without effect; the attention of the Negroes was arrested, and not a few were found among them who secretly visited their fellow slaves from plantation to plantation, telling them of a book in which God's word was declared, of Jesus, the Saviour, of a heaven to which they likewise might go, and teaching the people a form of prayer. Among them was a black man, named George Lewis, a native of Guinea, who had been carried to Jamaica,

and sent from thence to Virginia in North America, where he heard the gospel preached by the Baptists, and was admitted into their church. After some time, this man returned to Jamaica, with the full intention of imparting the knowledge of Christ to his fellow-slaves. He had many opportunities for doing this, as his owner, a Miss Valentine, of Kingston, allowed him, upon his paying her a certain sum every month, to traverse the country as a pedlar, and had given him a ticket of leave to this effect. He travelled frequently in the parishes of Manchester and St. Elizabeth, preached first to a few; these invited others to come and hear him; and soon he was so well known among the slaves, that they assembled round him at night, wherever he went. This produced a general enquiry after the truth among the Negroes; and as the Brethren were invited about the same time to preach on an estate called Peru, and likewise on other plantations in the May-day mountains, they became more generally known, and Old Carmel was soon visited by numbers making the enquiry, "What must we do to be saved?" George Lewis introduced himself to the missionaries, and Br. Lang conceived such a good opinion of him, that at his request, he, (Br. Lang,) proposed that the congregation would collect one hundred pounds to purchase his freedom. This they accomplished, and George Lewis became a free man. From that time, he was much with our missionaries at Old Carmel, and frequently accompanied them on their visits to the different plantations. Among the planters, he was much disliked, especially when they heard that he kept meetings with the slaves at night, and the familiarity and kindness with which the Brethren treated him was much spoken against. He was imprisoned repeatedly for this offence of preaching to the slaves; and once he escaped being taken up and confined only through the intercession of Br. Lang.

It is difficult, at the present time, to say whether Lewis was really a worthy character; however it is affirmed by the Brethren that much good was done by his instrumentality. For instance; on several estates in the parish of Manchester, the people worshipped a cotton tree, had an idol in every house, and lived in the greatest enmity, frequently poisoning one another: by his persuasion they forsook their idol worship, and sought for christian instruction. It is also certain that he was the means of leading many on other plantations to enquire after the right way. But on the other hand, we find that at one time he was accused of dishonesty, and it appears that his religious notions were combined with a great deal of superstition. However he remained but a short time in company with the Brethren; they never asked him to become a member of their church, and he never applied for fellowship with them. It does not appear that he ever joined any regularly constituted church in Jamaica, but preferred taking his own course; and having removed to a distant part of the parish, he there practised, as the people sometimes expressed it, "the Negroes' home religion and meeting." Be this as it may, there can be no doubt that he contributed greatly to excite among the people in these parts a desire to be instructed in the christian doctrine. It is astonishing what a distance they would travel to attend the meetings; many of them would secretly leave home in their common clothes, as if going to their provision grounds; and carrying their Sunday dress tied up in a bundle, would walk from twenty to thirty miles on Saturday night, in order to be at Old Carmel early on Sunday morning, to hear the gospel; and then return home the following night, so as to be at work on the plantation grounds at six o'clock on Monday morning. Certainly there must have been an earnest desire for spiritual food to induce these poor people voluntarily to undergo such

hardships for the gospel's sake. An old woman, who came eleven miles to attend the meetings, being asked how she could walk so far? answered, "LOVE MADE THE WAY SHORT!" Poor sinful man finds a charm in doing what others would not have him to do, and knowing what others do not wish him to know. These poor slaves coveted the knowledge of this, to them, new religion; because they saw their masters, in general, did not desire them to know it. Such motives may have roused them to seek after the truth, and though the church stood very far off, even their curiosity not unfrequently made the way to it short and easy. No doubt many amongst the slaves were actuated by some such motives; nor is it to be wondered at, if some of them were led on by their prevailing superstitions. It would be difficult to say that the movement at that time was a real and general awakening; but there can be no doubt, that many amongst them were sincere enquirers. There was certainly much superstition intermingled with their religious exercises; many had wonderful dreams to tell, which they considered as prophetic visions; some excited themselves by fanatical notions, and fell into wild extravagancies, which they called "The Convince," in which they had full faith as much as in a divine revelation.

The following account of an aged Negro, who departed this life in 1845, illustrates the influence which G. Lewis had over the people, and their religious feelings at that time. Robert Peart, at Spice Grove, was by birth a Mandingo; he was taught to read and write, and early initiated into the Mahometan faith, being designed for an expounder of their law. When about twenty years of age, he went on a visit to his uncle, previous to his entering "the great school at Timbuctoo" to finish his studies. While there he was waylaid, and carried down the coast to be sold. His relations endeavoured to ransom him, but in vain: he was brought to Jamaica: this was

about the year 1777. For some time he adhered to the Mahometan religion, in which he had been brought up, at least partially, and confessed that whenever he wished to observe one of the Mahometan fasts, he pretended to be sick. When G. Lewis visited these parts, Robert's attention was arrested by hearing him asking a blessing and returning thanks at his meals. "I saw him," said Robert, "before him eat, say thankee, and when him done, say thankee again. Me say eh! (an exclamation of surprize among the Negroes.) Him say to me, 'Why don't you pray?' Me answer him: Me do pray. He say to me, 'What do you pray?' Me say me believe in God, but not in his Son; for in me country we pray to God and his prophet Mahomet." George Lewis replied: 'Dick, (this was Robert's name before baptism) you are altogether wrong, you must pray to Jesus Christ, Him the only right one to pray to.' "These words," Robert continued, "sunk into my heart; I went home and told my wife all the man had said. I was then building a house, it was about half finished; one night I went in there, kneeled down, and began to pray: Lord have mercy upon me! Christ, have mercy upon me! again and again, for that was all I could say. By and by I was tired and fell asleep, when I thought I heard a voice saying unto me: 'Why don't you pray?' Immediately I jumped up, and began to pray: Lord, have mercy upon me! and so continued all night." His mind seems to have become more deeply impressed from day to day with the conviction of something more being necessary for salvation; but as yet he had no other counsellor, though he had heard of Br. Lang, the Moravian missionary, at Old Carmel. It happened soon after that the Negroes having offended the overseer, he directed Dick to cut down and destroy all the yams and provisions they had planted in their gardens. At this he felt very uneasy, knowing it to be a harsh measure, and prayed

fervently to God for direction. The thought came into his mind to go and ask advice of the Moravian missionary at Old Carmel, about ten miles distant. He ran thither in breathless speed, and stated his case. Finding a judicious and sympathizing friend in Br. Lang, he unbosomed himself still further, and declared his desire for baptism, informing him that he had been brought up a Mahometan, but had found that faith to be a broken staff which could not support him. Having obtained suitable advice, he returned home with an easier mind, and became earnest in his attendance on the means of grace. At that time the praying people under their black guide were very strict and regular in their observances. Whenever G. Lewis came to the estate, they contributed at the rate of three-pence each, had a supper, and sat up all night listening to his instructions. They were in the habit of fasting three times a week, eating and drinking nothing from sunrise to sunset. This naturally irritated the planters, who took every means to put it down. One day the overseer, having had the names of three of the praying men mentioned to him, went into the field early in the morning to observe how they could work the day through. When breakfast time came they took none, and as they told him they had eaten enough before it was day, he ordered them to break stones all day, with sledge-hammers, which they readily continued to do till evening without intermission, and so successfully, that he could not refrain from expressing his surprise!

"After Robert Peart had attended the instruction of Br. Lang for some time, he relates that one Friday night he dreamed he was in a dark house, when a man came in, and it became light. The person approached and kissed him three times. He enquired, "Who are you?" and was answered, 'I am Jesus of Nazareth, come to pardon all your sins;' "immediately," he added, "I fell at his feet, and kissed

them." This dream made an indelible impression upon his mind, and in two days after it, he was baptized by Br. Lang.

Religion having begun to spread more and more among the Negroes, Robert and some others were taken before a bench of magistrates, and examined as to the nature of the instruction which they received. His answers having convinced the judges that the gospel will make a man a more valuable servant and a better member of society; he was quietly dismissed. To the first question of the chairman, respecting the nature of the instruction which they received, he replied, "We are told to believe in God, who sees us everywhere, and in his Son Jesus Christ; and to pray to him to take us to heaven."—"Well, what more?" "We must not tell lies." "What more?" "We must not steal from massa." "What more?" "We must not run away and rob massa of his work." "What more?" "We must not have two wives, for by and by they will get jealous, and hurt one another, and massa's work will fall back." "What more?" "We must pray for buckra (overseer) and everybody." Here the magistrate closed his examination by saying, "Well, go along." These answers may be taken as a fair specimen of Negro ability and shrewdness. Robert Peart's christian conduct had such an effect on the overseer, for whom, by the instruction of the missionary, he prayed regularly, that after some time he frequently lent him a mule to ride to church.

The following extracts from the journals of the missionaries are given to illustrate still further the spirit, character, and success of the mission at that time.

,, March 27th, 1812. Br. Lang went to Peru this morning, and read to the Negroes for upwards of two hours, the account of our Saviour's last words, his sufferings, and death. They were remarkably attentive and orderly. Br. Lang told them that if they really wished to become our Saviour's pro-

perty, it would be needful for him to attend to their instruction every Sunday morning. They spoke altogether and said, 'Massa, that will not do.' Br. Lang then told them, that as long as they came in their master's time, they only came because they *must* come; but that if they came in their own time, it would then be seen who came for the Lord's sake; and as they would walk seven miles for a cake of soap, they would surely be willing to give half an hour to serve the Lord who died for them, by attending to his word, if they were in earnest; but if not, they would remain without the knowledge of him as their Saviour. The result was: 'What massa had proposed was very good, and they would attend if possible.' From this conference Br. Lang withdrew much pleased, in the hope that our Saviour would bless his labours among these poor ignorant heathen."

"May 15th, Br. Lang went to Peru, and conversed with fifteen Negroes. The overseer was very angry, that he had kept them so long, but it could not be helped."

"June 6th, Br. Lang went to Peru, where he saw young Mr. H. for the first time, and had a long conversation with him concerning the mission. He said he had been told a mission did not answer among Negroes. That preaching to them in a mild manner had the bad effect of making them too easy and indolent; and besides, if they were to hear such lenient doctrine, *they would expect their masters to be gentle too.* He concluded by saying, 'You preach to them in the church, and I will make them work in the field.' I kept two meetings, Mr. H. was present at both, and said afterwards, 'He could not see why we should not do well, and have it agreeable together.' "

"June 20th, Br. Lang preached again at Peru. The Negroes are very hungry after the gospel, though the overseer does not behave even with common civility. He said, 'Mr. H. would look sharply after the Negroes, and soon put a stop to

the mission.' But we trust our Saviour will defend his own cause.

"July 4th, Mr. H. desired I would discontinue keeping meetings in the Negro huts, because he thought I made myself too familiar with them by going into their houses."

The following correspondence between Mr. H——. and Br. Lang is too characteristic to be omitted. "Sept. 12th. Mr. H——. sent me the following letter:

'Sir,—Our Negroes being in the mountains, where they are likely to remain for some time, I think proper to inform you of it. As they have their provision grounds there, I should not like them to come down before they have finished their work. Both my properties are so much behindhand, that we ought not to lose the least time; and as Mr. P—. has informed my father, that you frequently come on a Sunday, he has written me, wishing to encourage it, which I certainly shall do, as far as is consistent with propriety and the good of the property, notwithstanding the sneering and ridicule I am frequently exposed to on account of it. I therefore suggest to you, having now several converts, the propriety of coming *only on Sunday*, as often as you please, relinquishing your coming on Saturday altogether. This I certainly think by far the best way. Sunday being the most proper day, not only in a temporal but a spiritual point of view. I will write to you when the people have finished their work in the mountains, and are come back to Peru. I now leave the subject for your consideration.

'Yours, &c. H——.'"

To this letter Br. Lang returned the following answer: "Sir,—With respect to the first information your letter contains, that the people are in the mountains, I have no remark to make, but regret that it so happens, as I had intended to prepare seven of your Negroes for holy baptism, previous to our next meeting at Old Carmel. Their absence prevents me

from doing so. As to the next point; that the work on the estate 'is much behindhand,' I doubt not. The old saying is, 'Rome was not built in one day.' And I would remind you, that as a shower of rain takes up much work time, but pays it back again in another way, so does the hearing and due attendance on the word of God, only in a far higher degree. Respecting Mr. P——'s writing to your father, that I attended frequently on Sundays, you know I attend every other Sunday. To attend every Sunday is not in my power; and unless your Negroes are at least once a week reminded of their baptismal covenant, they suffer harm.

"Your complaint of being exposed to sneers and ridicule is the most extraordinary news I should have expected to hear. Surely you have more than once been present, and heard me speak in a meeting to your Negroes, and can thus far judge of what I say, viz.: that I teach scripture only—the pure gospel. If this disinterested preaching of a Saviour to perishing souls exposes to ridicule, not only the preacher, but also the innocent Mr. H——, and that too from people calling themselves christians, pretending to a liberal education, then I wish to know in what their liberal sentiments consist? To censure a thing they do not understand nor are able to refute, is very great illiberality, and shows very little good sense. But, I confess, reproach and ridicule are very hard to bear. It broke our Saviour's heart.* How much more difficult is it for a mere human creature to sustain. I confess, were it not *that thus it must be*:† were it not for the hope that 'Those who reproach here bear,—In heaven a crown shall wear,' and the fearful denunciation of Jesus: 'Whosover therefore shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him

* Ps. xlix. 20. † 2 Tim. iii 12.

also shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father, with the holy angels :'* I should very much hesitate, ere I exposed myself to the poisonous arrows shooting forth from the sneering lips of an infidel.

"Now, regarding the most important point in your letter, 'not to preach on Saturday,' I must confess, that, as the only estate that was liberal enough to spare *one* hour in *two* weeks, for the instruction of all the Negroes in the *only one thing needful*, is inclined, not only to grudge, but apparently determined to take that privilege from them, at a time when there were many willing to render their souls unto their Saviour, I find this very hard, and greatly to be lamented, particularly as I can only spare one Sunday in a fortnight; the prospect of doing some real good is thereby almost crushed in the bud. But as I have only to act in this case as a servant of the meek and lowly Saviour, I will and shall submit to any regulation you are pleased to make on your own estate, and beg you to have the goodness to let me know before next Saturday your final determination. Yours &c., L——."

"Sept. 8th. Mr. H——, after keeping our servant for a day waiting, and using language to him contentious and unbecoming, sent the following letter: 'Sir,—I have to answer your letter in a two-fold way. It is better, in my humble opinion, that you attend every other Sunday, than on Saturday, because it must tend to give the Negroes a more sacred idea of the Sabbath; while by your attendance on the *Master's Saturday*, the people are called from their work, and I am sorry to say, it begets in them a great indifference to set to work again as they ought. As to their coming down from the mountains, it is out of the question. Yours, &c., H——'

"Sep. 20th." the diary continues, "As we cannot go to Peru, we feel very much out of our element, and cannot sufficiently

* Mark viii. 38.

lament, that Mr. H——. has almost put a stop to the mission."

"Sept. 25th. Brother Lang having cut out from a *Periodical* published in London, the agreement between old Mr. H—— and Br. Howel, in which the former promised the Negroes an hour in their own time, sent it to Mr. H——, with the following lines:

'Sir,—From the enclosed printed paper, you will see once more, that your father has broken his agreement with us; but having once, in the name of our society, protested against it, and as you seem willing to be responsible for the consequence, I herewith drop the subject. I am willing to come next Sunday: but will you not soon build another meeting-house, and release me from the wasps which have taken possession of the one I preach in? 'Yours, &c. L——.'"

The combination of simplicity, zeal, irony, and straightforwardness, in Br. Lang's letters, is very characteristic. He must have been a bold man to write such letters to a slave-holding owner of a plantation.

"July 12th, 1803. Br. Lang spoke with a number of candidates, much to his comfort. With very few exceptions, they all answered the question, 'What has our Saviour done for you?' plainly, and with a most pleasing feeling, 'He died for us on the cross, and shed his blood for our sins.' This declaration of their faith was very encouraging. Upon those who believe and embrace this great mystery, it has a striking and most pleasing effect. With an unthinking Negro, we have great trouble, before he can be taught even to repeat this great proof of our Saviour's love, and say after us, He died for me. But when they say this *feelingly* and freely, then we have something to go by, we can say in return, Well, he died for you, what do you do for him? This never fails to lead us into a pleasing and beneficial conversation, and, thank God, we experience this now more than ever before."

"July 19th. This was a blessed and distinguished day at Old Carmel; at three o'clock, the signal for the meeting was given, and at four o'clock, the public service was kept with a company of hearers such as we never saw before. After the preaching, we had the congregation meeting, with our ten candidates approved for baptism, seated in front, dressed in white. After the usual discourse, the questions were put: Dost thou believe, &c., as stated in the baptismal Litany, which were correctly and energetically answered by all the candidates, much to our satisfaction. They were then commended to our Saviour, as his poor, despised, but believing and redeemed, souls, and afterwards baptized into the death of Jesus, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

"Dec. 12th. We conversed to-day with those of our Carmel Negroes who are baptized. Frederic said, 'He felt a great alteration since his baptism; that he would not now do what he did before.'—'What a bad man,' said he, 'was I, how did I curse, and swear, and steal, and lie, but I cannot do so now, for I believe that our Saviour died and shed his blood for me, therefore I wish truly to be a partaker of his grace."

"April 26th, 1813. Br. Lang felt much encouraged by several of the converts expressing themselves satisfactorily about the state of their hearts. Old Maria is sick unto death; of all who were baptized last year, she gave us the least pleasure, as she was always of a quarrelsome disposition; but she has changed wonderfully, and is now like a lamb. She said, 'My Saviour is mine, and I am his; if I get better, I shall not like noise again, but I wish to spend my time in quietness.'"

"July 25th. One of our baptized Negroes said, 'I long to become a partaker of the Lord's supper, and am sure the

longing I feel is from the Lord, for he is good to me. I feel his peace and nearness often amazingly. When I went out of the meeting last week, I took off my hat, and spoke a few words only to our Saviour, and such heavenly peace came over me, that I did not know how I felt; I could not speak to any body, though several people passed me, and coming into the field, I saw some Negroes coming rather late, but I could not punish them. (He is a driver.) I feel our dear Saviour, and wish to be wholly his. The rest likewise spoke satisfactorily. Therefore we hope, 'And hope maketh not ashamed.'"

"October 17th. Br. Ward and Br. Lang went to Peru, as there were about thirty coming from an estate, whose master we knew was opposed to their attendance at church; and even prevented those who belonged to the neighbouring estates from walking along the highroad which passes his house; so that, to escape him, they were obliged to take by-roads, when going to hear the gospel. We asked one of them what his master said now, seeing that so many came? He answered: 'Since him see the word do good, and make the Negro good, him say nothing again.' Another was asked: 'What makes you come to church?' He answered; 'My heart brings me here to save my poor soul; I come to give myself to the Saviour.'"

"Oct. 12th, 1815." Br. Lang writes, "I went to Peru to preach the word, and returned wondering at the grace of God, as it is evidenced among these black sheep; truly our Saviour has done great things for them; his holy name be praised for it. Amen."

"Dec. 25th. There never was such a crowd assembled in Carmel church, both bond and free. I feel great love for the slaves. As for the free people, there is such a number of habitually cruel customs among them, and such an aversion to obedience, even to the word of God, that as yet little is to

be expected from them. Mr. B—— is the only one who feels something of the power of the word of God in his heart, and begins seriously to reflect on the customs of the country, and on what he hears of God's word. May our Lord pity Jamaica, and kindle a fire which nothing shall ever be able to quench!"

This most faithful and devoted servant of the Lord, Br. J. Lang, from whose journal the above extracts are given, departed this life at Old Carmel, June 4th, 1818. Even to such men, slavery did not, in those days, appear to be the great sin and evil which we now see and know it to be. I should rather suppose they looked upon it as a necessary evil. The ignorance and difficulties under which they laboured in those days may well be pleaded as their apology; but now that the eyes of men are opened to behold its magnitude, they have no excuse.

In the Mile Gully mountains, at Devon and other places, a similar awakening took place among the Negroes, chiefly by native agency, so that they frequently travelled twenty miles and upwards, to attend the services at the Bogue. From that time, commencing about 1812, the Brn. had the pleasure of seeing their places of worship filled with attentive hearers. Those who came from a great distance put to shame many who lived near the church, and thus contributed to their awakening. As one of themselves expressed it, "We never repented right, till the mountain people taught us by their example." There are living, at the present time, a number of persons who were baptized, and became members of the Brethren's Church in those days, and among them are several who for many years have been employed as native assistants to the missionaries. These have maintained an exemplary christian conduct, have made a good profession before many witnesses, and have given full and

satisfactory evidence of a real and abiding change of heart. On the other hand, there are some who pride themselves not a little upon their long standing in the church of God, and consider, in their self-righteousness, that their former works are an all-sufficient passport to heaven. In their opinion, to have attended the gospel ministry, to have come to the light, when so many still remained in darkness, to have been baptized by parson Lang, or parson Baker, will cover a multitude of sins, and atone for their lukewarmness and indifference in later days. This is a sad mistake on their part. Our Saviour's words are, "He that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved."

At that time the planters were, almost without exception, opposed to the spread of the gospel; but the attendance of the slaves upon the means of grace, was strong and decided. When we consider that most of these men were utter strangers to vital religion, that it was almost impossible for them even to comprehend the wants and desires of the Negroes, we can readily conceive that when they heard of meetings being held secretly at night, they could not think otherwise than that their slaves meditated a revolt. The slave master lived in continual dread and fear for his safety; he was always suspicious, and made use of any means for self-preservation. And there were among the slaves not a few who were always ready to be the tools of the master; these were employed as watchmen, not only on the estate, but along the roads to church. Their business was to report when and where meetings were held, and who had been found attending them. The masters themselves sometimes surprised the Negroes when assembled; and then a scene of indescribable confusion would take place. They might be seen escaping through the windows, breaking down the fragile walls of the house, climbing upon the roof, and sitting upon the

rafters. Those who were caught were severely flogged, and those who were entrapped on the road to or from the church, received the same treatment. But all this severity failed of the desired effect. The slaves would meet at night to pray together, they would go to church; though, to escape punishment, they were compelled to avoid the highroads, and to make their way through woods and unfrequented paths.

Many of the planters having been convinced of the fruitlessness of all their endeavours to hinder the slaves from seeking the truth and hearing the gospel, were now led to adopt one of the most extraordinary methods which the enemy of souls could suggest, in the vain hope of quieting the consciences of the slaves, and keeping them at home. They invited the rector of the parish to come and baptize their Negroes at once, and agreed to pay a certain amount for each. There are many still living who can tell of the profane manner in which this sacred rite was performed. The slaves being all assembled, generally in the mill-house, the minister went round, accompanied by the housekeeper, or concubine, of the overseer, carrying a basin of water, and naming each slave by a new name, while he sprinkled the water upon them. After this followed a dance, with a large allowance of rum. In one instance, the minister played the fiddle and joined in the dance! This profanation of religion had of course an evil effect upon the people. Forms and ceremonies, practised in this way, only served to disquiet them; and the result was, very few would go to the parish church. Meantime, to prevent the slaves from attending the ministry of the sectarians, among whom they classed the Brethren; parish and district churches were built, and ministers of one heart with the slaveholders were increased; but like the former, this plan also utterly failed, except where godly ministers, who faithfully performed their duties, were stationed.

Curiosity occasionally led some of the planters to attend the services at the mission station, that they might judge for themselves. Among others, the Custos of the parish of St. Elizabeth, accompanied by his lady, came one Sunday to Old Carmel, when several adults were baptized. They afterwards expressed themselves much pleased with what they had seen and heard, but added, "What ignorant stupid people are these! we saw those that were baptized shed tears; they should have been glad at being made christians; but instead of this they cry! Why do they come to be baptized?" There can be no doubt but that these were tears of joy, and that there are religious emotions, accompanied with tears, which soften, and move, and gladden the heart. It appears these visitors had never experienced such. With facts like these before us, can we wonder if the cravings after religious knowledge and devotional feelings among the slaves, were entirely incomprehensible and unintelligible to their masters?

Truly, under such circumstances, we need not be surprized to hear that the missionaries were often maligned and annoyed by the abuse which was unsparingly heaped upon them on public occasions, and especially at vestry meetings. They were charged with associating with the slaves to bring about a rebellion; they were accused to the governor, and an appeal was lodged against them, in the house of assembly, if possible to interdict their labours. At the same time laws were made to prevent the slaves from attending the meetings at night; and though no further steps were taken to hinder the progress of the gospel, still the missionaries were generally suspected, and every planter thought it great condescension on his part to countenance or associate with them. Meantime the Brethren kept quiet: "We will stand still," they wrote, "and see the salvation of God."

The house at which the missionaries resided at the Bogue, becoming almost uninhabitable, they built another in 1816, on land granted to them by the proprietor of the estate, and likewise a church, which was solemnly opened on the 14th of May, 1820. In the same year, 110 adults were baptized. This station received the name of New Eden; it is pleasantly situated upon the Manchester mountains, and commands a fine prospect; but the climate is exceedingly hot and unhealthy. The church was fifty feet by thirty, built low, and of wood—a very humble place of worship: a few years afterwards it had to be enlarged. When filled, as it always was to overflowing, the heat was almost intolerable, the thermometer ranging from 115 to 120 degrees. After standing for two hours in the pulpit, his clothes perfectly saturated with perspiration, the missionary withdrew, wearied, worn-out, and sick with headache and giddiness. Yet at that time our Brethren valued this accommodation highly, and considered it a great blessing from the Lord to have their own house of prayer. As a building wholly set apart for the service of God; *it was the first chapel of the Brethren in Jamaica.* Hitherto the services of the church had been conducted in the hall of their dwelling-house, or under the trees. It is still standing, and is used as a school-house. When we look at it in the present day, we feel surprised at the moderation of our former Brethren. They were humble, easily satisfied, and willing to endure hardness, even at the risk of health and life, if by any means they might win souls for Christ. Necessity may have compelled them to be content with such things as they had; but when the life of the missionary is endangered, it is neither economy nor prudence to erect such places. In 1843, a cottage was built in the mountains, at some distance from the chapel, for the accommodation of the the missionary. And in 1848, a new church was erected at

that place,—large, high, airy, and well suited for a lowland station.

About ten miles from New Eden, in a part of the country called Nassau, containing several richly-cultivated sugar plantations, the Brethren had preached the gospel since 1760; particularly on the estates of Island and Williamsfield. But after labouring in this district unsuccessfully for many years, the missionaries were under the necessity of retiring from a field so unpromising, until 1815, when Br. Ward went to reside at Williamsfield, if possible to reopen the mission there. His diary proves him to have been a man of great devotion. He found some old people, who had been baptized by the Brn. Caries and Schlegel, still remaining. Among them there was one named Peter, whose zeal for the gospel awoke in all its strength when he saw another missionary coming to reside amongst them. This was what he had long wished and prayed for; and now, when he saw his desire fulfilled, he zealously invited all the Negroes to come and hear the word. The meetings, which were kept in his house, or in the open air, under the shade of the trees, were largely attended, and a hopeful beginning was made; but, after three years labour, the missionary, Br. Ward, was called to supply the place of another at Mesopotamia, who had departed this life. Though several attempts were afterwards made to keep up this station, yet it has been necessarily abandoned by the Brethren, the labourers being too few to supply the demands which have been made upon them. However, in 1835, the Church Missionary Society took possession of this field, and erected a church at Siloah.

At Mesopotamia in Westmoreland, a sugar plantation belonging to Mr. Barham, the gospel had been preached since 1760. This place lies low, in a most unhealthy situation, so that fever and death have made sad havoc in it. Fifteen

missionaries, besides several children, are buried there; and several others, sick and faint, have been obliged to remove. The attempts to keep up this station so long, at such a waste of valuable life, give evidence of extraordinary perseverance; but we might put the question from dear-bought experience, why continue in such a place under such circumstances? The congregation never amounted to more than from forty to fifty baptized Negroes, and was rather decreasing than otherwise. The population is very large, but the Negroes had no confidence in the missionary, and did not desire his instructions. Ultimately, in 1835, this station was abandoned. The Brethren were accused by the proprietor of neglect and carelessness, but they offered to prove that the want of success was to be attributed solely to the constant and systematic opposition of the managers of the estate, who, contrary to the instructions of the proprietor, deprived them, as much as possible, of every opportunity to preach to the slaves; besides placing many other hindrances in their way. However, the proof was never required, nor could a proprietor ever listen to such complaints against his agents, without endangering his income.

In 1815, Thomas Hall, esq., proprietor of several estates near Montego Bay, requested the Brethren to preach the gospel to his slaves, and liberally supported the mission. Br. J. T. Light arrived there Aug. 2nd, 1815, and went to reside on an estate called Irwin. His labours, during the first eight years were chiefly directed to benefit the children, though he preached and likewise kept meetings regularly for the adults. He was a faithful and truly excellent man, and is still remembered with much love and respect. Until 1823, he did not meet with much success, but afterwards the Lord blessed his endeavours abundantly.

These are the principal events in the history of the mission

up to the year 1823. The first period, from 1754 to 1756 was a promising beginning. The second, from 1756 to 1809, with the exception of a partial revival in 1767, was a time of spiritual leanness, barrenness, and declension. During the third period, from 1809 to 1823, a general awakening took place, and our stations at Old Carmel and the Bogue were frequented by crowds of attentive hearers, of whom many joined the church. The fourth period began with 1823, and continued to 1832. This will constitute the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER III.

1823 TO 1832.

SALE OF OLD CARMEL—ESTABLISHMENT OF FAIRFIELD—SPREAD OF THE GOSPEL — THE MISSION SUPPORTED AND PROMOTED BY SEVERAL PLANTERS— MISSIONARY LABOURS AT FAIRFIELD— NEW EDEN—MESOPOTAMIA—IRWIN—HOPETON—SPRINGVALE— PLAN OF PROCEEDING—NATIVE ASSISTANTS—ESTABLISHMENT OF SCHOOLS.

The year 1823 stands forth pre-eminently in the history of the Brethren's Mission in Jamaica. Until then, the missionaries, though partly supported from home, and by a stipend from the proprietors of the Bogue and Mesopotamia estates, still had to depend in a great measure upon their own exertions and labours for their maintenance. Several of them were always engaged in trades and in agricultural labours on their estate at Old Carmel; but by this arrangement a temptation was continually held out to seek for uncertain riches, and forget their proper call. It was therefore resolved by the mission board to break up the establishment at Old Carmel, and to place the missionaries upon the same footing as in other countries; viz. without guaranteeing any salary, to defray their expenses from the mission fund. Br. Stobwasser, who had already been engaged in the mission in Antigua, was commissioned to go to Jamaica, to superintend and carry out this resolution. He arrived in the early part of 1823, and the brethren having made the necessary preparations, the

proposed change was soon accomplished. Old Carmel was sold for £612., but the brethren reserved as their property the burial-ground, in which rest the remains of thirteen brethren, eleven sisters, and five children. And on October 7th, 1823, they removed to Fairfield, on the Manchester mountains, sixteen miles from Old Carmel. This place is still the principal station of the Brethren in Jamaica. It stands in a cool, delightful, and most healthy situation; the mountain air is refreshing, and when compared with the lowlands, exceedingly invigorating both to body and mind. At the same time the duties of the missionaries were more strictly defined, and regulations were agreed upon, that they might "walk by the same rule, and mind the same thing." At this time the greater part of the congregation at Old Carmel lived in the neighbourhood of Fairfield; and at the close of the year 1828, the congregation there consisted of 448 baptized adults, and 69 baptized children. The other members of the congregation at Old Carmel joined that at New Eden, which at that time consisted of 528 baptized adults, and 90 baptized children. At the close of 1813, the total number in the different mission stations, including children and enquirers or candidates for baptism, was 2282 persons.

About this time the prejudices of the white people against the spread of the gospel began to give way. Owners or managers of estates frequently invited the missionaries to come and instruct their slaves, and several offered liberal contributions if they would comply with their requests. On one property, Devon, the proprietor himself assembled his people on the sabbath day, and read to them the scriptures, and the Church of England Liturgy. The missionaries write: "The advantages resulting to the planters from the Negroes being instructed in the gospel, and becoming truly converted to God, seem to be generally acknowledged; and proprietors

who formerly disliked our work, and even opposed their slaves in going to church, now encouraged them to attend; insomuch that our church at New Eden is often too small to hold the number of hearers." And as to the Negroes, it could be reported of their spiritual state: "Hunger and thirst after the word of God seem to increase more and more."

Ignorant themselves of the nature of true religion, the slaveholders who prevented their Negroes from attending the means of grace were blind to their own interests; under such circumstances, what motives could a heathen slave have for bridling his will, passions, and desire for revenge? None whatever. The only thing that prevented him from violence, bloodshed, and murder, was *fear;* fear of the whip and the gallows. The spirit of the slaves was generally so crushed and broken, that they were the veriest cowards—one freeman would chase twenty of them. Still the whites were in continual apprehension of a rising among the Negroes, and not without good reason, for in spite of all they could do, there were repeated outbreaks of a rebellious spirit. How different is it, when, by the reception of the gospel, faith in the Saviour fills the heart of a slave! It makes him a new man. He commits his cause to Him that became a servant for our sakes; and to follow his example, to obey his commands, is his aim and desire. He is even taught to consider his services not as done unto man but to the Lord; "to be faithful, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward." Resistance and rebellion are unlawful to him, his conscience and religious convictions condemn them; his master may, therefore, safely discard all fear of violence and murder by the converted christian slave. To gain his freedom, he will not use means which scripture does not sanction. This is so plain and self-evident to every enlightened mind, that nothing but ignorance and the natural enmity of the heart to God, can explain the fact why

the planters were so violent in their opposition to the introduction of christianity among their people. It was different in another of the West-India Islands, where a visitor of rank expressed to the governor his apprehension and fear of living in a slave country. "What security have you against their rising and really destroying you all?" was his earnest enquiry. The governor led him to the window, and directing his attention to some Moravian mission stations, answered: "There is our security. Negroes who are converted will never rise in rebellion, and their number is so great, that the others could never conspire without their knowledge, and they would inform us." Had the planters therefore been sufficiently enlightened, self-preservation and self-interest might have produced very strong impressions on their minds in favour of the labours of the missionaries; but those who encourage the spread of the gospel from such motives, know nothing of that high and holy principle which constrains the disciples of Jesus to preach the good news of God's free grace to every creature. There were, however, several honourable characters among the proprietors, who, from pure motives, truly sought the spiritual welfare of the slaves. Foremost among these was H. Scott, esq., who, with his pious lady, resided on their property at Hopeton, in Westmoreland. They were the owners of several estates, on which hundreds of Negroes were located. Both were born in Jamaica, and had been waited upon by slaves from their infancy; were accustomed to the system, and taught to consider it right and lawful. But even under such circumstances, the light of the gospel, and the personal experience of its saving power, awakened in their hearts feelings of pity and compassion for their people. They felt the claim which their slaves had upon them, and as early as 1822, they applied to the Brethren to have a missionary stationed at Hopeton. The Brethren frequently visited there, and some years after, in

1827, a mission station was established at New Carmel, in the immediate neighbourhood of Hopeton; the land being made over to them by Mr. Scott, who, besides putting up some buildings for their use, largely contributed to the support of the mission for several years. The constant and uniform kindness which the brethren experienced from this pious gentleman and his lady, will always be gratefully remembered by them. At a time when the missionaries were still generally looked down upon, they delighted in honouring them, and were never ashamed to own them before high and low. Their house was a refuge for the missionary to recruit his shattered health, and all that attention and christian kindness could do, were gladly and willingly done by them, to cheer the hearts of the missionaries. Two other families in these parts also showed them not a little kindness at that time. Nevertheless, though the brethren rejoiced that their labours began to be appreciated, and favoured by many, still they had cause to complain, as we find from their diary of May, 1825: "One characteristic of our calling," they write, "is to be everywhere much traduced by ungodly neighbours; from which it appears that the spirit and enmity of the wicked one have manifested the same hatred against the gospel in every age of the church, The line of conduct proper for us to pursue under such circumstances, is only to be learned from the example of our great pattern, Jesus, and the teaching of his spirit."

Fairfield had been a coffee plantation. The Brethren found there a dwelling house much out of repair, and likewise a storehouse, which was afterwards converted into a schoolroom. It had formerly been the property of Brother F. Russel, who, having come from Europe to labour as a missionary, abandoned his proper call, and purchased this small coffee plantation, in the pursuit of the unrighteous mammon. He

departed this life in 1804, reconciled to his brethren, having been received again among them in the bonds of love. After his decease, the property fell again into the hands of its former proprietor, Mr. Powel, from whom the Brethren purchased it on behalf of the mission.

The second chapel belonging to the church of the Brethren in Jamaica was built and solemnly opened at Fairfield, January the 15th, 1826. The congregation continued steadily to increase; not a week passed without application from Negroes belonging to the neighbouring estates, who came and requested to be instructed. These Negroes were exceedingly ignorant; even the name of Jesus had not been heard of by many of them, but they said: "We come to hear and to learn." If these inquirers continued to attend the public services, and thus proved that a work of grace was carried on in their hearts, they were taken into the class of catechumens, and received instruction for baptism. The Brethren never administered baptism as a mere formal rite; they made it conditionally dependent on an earnest desire to know the Saviour; and a real willingness, from love to him, to make a public confession of faith. Where they found this principle was wanting, an individual might attend the church for years without being admitted to baptism. This explains such passages in their diary as: "Our servant-girl, aged sixteen years, departed this life yesterday. She had never been baptized, as she never applied for it in earnest." Adults, after being baptized, became members of the church, and then attended a course of instruction for the holy communion, before they were admitted to that ordinance. As early as 1828, the attendance at the house of God was frequently so numerous that many could find no accommodation; and there being generally two or three brethren stationed at Fairfield, one of them, or a pious planter and warm-hearted friend of the

Brethren, Mr. T——, would preach under the shade of some large fig trees which were near at hand, and served for the accommodation of those who could not find a place in the church. During the week, and likewise on the Sabbath day, if a brother was at liberty, he went out to preach in some of the estates in the neighbourhood, as at the Isle, or in the Savannah, which led afterwards to the establishment of separate stations. Being set free from all worldly encumbrances, they were now at liberty to prosecute the work of the mission without let or hindrance, and they devoted all their energies to the spread of the gospel and the salvation of souls.

A serious loss befel the mission in the year 1825. Two missionaries and their wives, the Brethren and Sisters Berger and Hague, died of fever within a month. The latter, Br. and Sr. Hague, had only recently arrived from Europe, and, as it appeared, contracted an infectious fever soon after landing at Kingston, which only developed itself after their arrival at Fairfield, and by which, likewise, Br. and Sr. Berger were carried off. Their end was peace. They are buried in the garden at Fairfield. Br. Hague, an excellent artist, left a well-executed pencil drawing of the crucifixion, which to this day adorns the hall of the mission-house at Fairfield.

The congregation at New Eden likewise continued to increase and prosper. Many slaves from the mountains came to hear the gospel, and were in turn visited by the missionaries, who found among the owners of estates in the Milegully, many warm friends to encourage them in their labours. The love and attachment of the Negroes to the Brethren were evinced on such occasions in the most lively manner. They would shout for joy when they saw the missionary coming, would surround him in crowds; and there was no favour he could ask them which they would not grant him willingly,

if in their power. The church at New Eden had soon to be enlarged, and still proved much too small to accommodate the crowds which attended. Br. Baker, who laboured in that station for fourteen years, was much beloved by the people, and to this day they speak of him with affection.

In Mesopotamia, and at Irwin, where the missionaries faithfully continued their labours, their success was not so remarkable until 1828, when Br. Light removed from Irwin estate, and built the station called Irwin Hill. The land had been made over to the Brethren for that purpose, and the church was opened July 27th, 1828. By this step hindrances were removed which only an eye-witness could fully understand. Before this change, the missionary living on the estate, and in the same house with the manager and his associates, had to witness their immoral life, and to endure the sight of dances and profligacy in the very yard, against which he had no remedy, except to beseech and entreat. Slaves from other estates seldom ventured to visit him at this place; because if seen they were generally denounced to their masters. It was not to be expected that under such circumstances they would see much fruit of their labours. No sooner had they obtained a separate mission station, than the attendance on the means of grace increased; and in 1828 thirty-five adults were baptized, at the same time the number of the congregation continued to advance steadily.

At Hopeton, in Westmoreland, where the word had been preached since 1822, the first baptism of two adults and eight children took place in 1824. In 1827, a brother was appointed to reside at the mission station, New Carmel; and a church was solemnly opened in that place Nov. 16th, 1828. The people of the neighbourhood had been prepared to receive the gospel joyfully, partly by the occasional visits of the missionaries, and by the labours of a gentleman, Mr. C—, who frequently

invited the people to come to his house in the evening, when he read the scriptures and preached the gospel with power and unction. Several were truly awakened and converted under his ministry. There were at that time, even among the slaveholders, some to be found who were truly fellow-helpers in the missionary work. The congregation at New Carmel increased so much, that they had very soon to regret not having built the church of larger dimensions, than sixty by thirty-five feet. Several out-preaching places were regularly attended to, as Beaufort, Parkersbay, and elsewhere. At Beaufort, they built a substantial house, which was intended to serve both as a chapel and school-house. No sooner had they finished this building, than the land was claimed by another, and their title found to be invalid; they were, therefore, obliged to pull down the building, and remove the materials, or they would have lost all.

Upon the earnest solicitation of Mr. F——, Br. T. Zorn, who had lately arrived from North America, went to reside upon his property, Springvale, in February, 1830, to instruct his slaves. The year after, a piece of land for the establishment of a mission-station was offered by the proprietor of Y. S. sugar plantation, adjoining Spring-Isle, which the Brethren thankfully accepted. The congregation increased rapidly, and a church was built and solemnly opened August 14th, 1830, and called New Fulnec. This station is situated ten miles from Black river, in the parish of St. Elizabeth.

The offers which were made to the Brethren at this time, for the opening of new stations, were numerous; and considerable assistance was promised by several proprietors. At Trelawney they were urged by the planters to establish a village of free Negroes upon the same plan as that pursued by our Brethren at the Cape of Good Hope, but they had neither

the means nor the agents to accept and carry out these invitations. The work they had in hand occupied all their time, and demanded all their energies both of body and mind. Day after day they continued travelling about preaching the word, and visiting the sick, the old, and infirm, and in the evening attending to the instruction of the young. The plan they pursued may be stated in a few words. After having visited and preached several times in a new locality, they invited those that wished to be further instructed, to come forward and have their names entered as catechumens. These had their separate instruction meetings after the public service, and became candidates for holy baptism. Being baptized, they formed the beginning of a congregation, were regularly visited, attended the services at the mission station on the sabbath day, and at stated times, every eight weeks, they were conversed with individually. It has never been the object of the Brethren to preach only to a multitude, to collect large congregations, and leave them without personal instruction. Their plan has always been, to give themselves as much as possible to care for individuals, to become personally acquainted with them, to watch over all so as to have the confidence of each, to know the state of their hearts, their views concerning Christ and his salvation, and by maintaining an intimate friendship with the members of the flock, to lead them more and more into the fellowship of the faithful in Christ Jesus. For this reason, they made it a rule to meet with each individual, at least once in every eight weeks, for spiritual conversation; besides visiting the candidates occasionally at their own houses. These periodical conversations with each individual are generally denominated "The Speakings;" and we can, from experience, testify to the beneficial effects which this personal intercourse of the missionary with the members has upon the whole congregation.

Among the converts there were several who distinguished themselves by their devotedness and talents, and the brethren adopted the plan of employing them as their assistants or helpers. These were commissioned by the missionaries to watch over that portion of the flock which resided in their immediate neighbourhood, and were acknowledged by the congregation in that important character. Their office was to visit from house to house, to admonish, reprove, and encourage as the case might require, and to report to the missionary. They likewise held prayer-meetings in the houses of the members; and when there was any one who had learned to read, frequently a child, he was encouraged to read a chapter from the scriptures, after which the helper-brother would offer up a prayer. Disputes between the members were brought before the helpers for their consideration; but if they involved a breach of the commandments of God, they were referred to the missionary for his decision. The native assistants, generally from ten to twenty in each congregation, met the missionary every four weeks, to be instructed by him in their duties and to report to him on the state of his charge. The service of these assistants, among whom are likewise females, who give instruction to their own sex, has been invaluable. They have prosecuted their labours humbly and faithfully; and in the whole of my experience, I know of only four or five whose hearts were lifted up with pride, and but very few who were led astray by the deceitfulness of sin so as to come under the discipline of the church. Some have indeed earned a good report, and their names and labours deserve to be remembered. I shall however name only two of them, who are no more in this world. I shall not speak of the living, lest I should cast a stumbling-block in their way. At Irwin-Hill, one of the first converts and afterwards a helper in the congregation was William Hall, a black man. He gained the confidence and

respect of all with whom he had to do. He was treated with distinction while a slave, and by one of the attorneys more like a friend. The owner of the plantation on which he lived, built a house for him superior to any in the village. In the congregation his services were valuable: himself a truly converted man, he used every effort to bring others to the knowledge of the Saviour. He departed in 1851. At New Carmel, one of the first converts, and a helper for many years, was Edward Hunt, who was called to his heavenly home in 1848. A gentleman who had known him for a long time, and under whom he laboured as a slave, spoke of him as a man whose character for goodness and virtue was unblemished. He was wrong however in ascribing his peaceful departure and good conscience to this excellency of his character and conduct, for, with genuine christian humility, this native assistant placed his dependance only on the righteousness of Christ his Saviour. By the instrumentality of these and other helpers, many were led to turn from their evil ways, to enquire the way to Zion, to visit the house of God, and finally to give themselves to the Saviour with all their hearts. A short biography of several of these helpers may be found in the "*Periodical Accounts*," published in London, volume 13.

Until the year 1822, the Brethren had not been able to establish any schools; but now it became a question with them, whether the time had not arrived to turn their attention to this important work, so closely connected with their missionary labours. The first notice of this, found in the diary of Fairfield, "April 16th, 1826," states that "Four children, of from ten to twelve years of age, have been baptized, and the wives of the missionaries determined to instruct them in reading and other useful acquirements." In a letter of Br. Ward's, Sept. 11th, 1816, he relates how delighted he was to meet, for the

first time, with a black man at New Eden, who had learned to read; but he does not state how the man had acquired this knowledge. In 1826, the Brethren determined to establish Sunday schools in all the stations, and a day school wherever an opportunity should offer. In this good work they were liberally supported by "The Ladies' Association, for Promoting the Education of the Black and Coloured Inhabitants of the West Indies," of which several members resided in Jamaica. Sr. Cooper, who, in 1826, with her husband dwelt on their property, the Cruze, near New Carmel, collected a few children and began the first day school. In 1828, three other day schools were opened in the neighbourhood of New Carmel. And in 1829, a day school was established in the Savannah, near Fairfield; and thenceforward their number continued to increase from year to year. For the missionaries to attend these out-station schools, except to visit them frequently, was impossible; and to find regular teachers was at first very difficult. The only qualification required on the part of a teacher in that day was, to have a good character, and be able to read. Nothing was taught in the schools at this time but reading and committing scripture texts and hymns to memory. These schools seldom exceeded from twenty to thirty scholars, as they could only be attended by the children of free people. The Sunday schools were numerously attended by the children of the slaves. An attempt was made, at this time, to establish evening schools at the several stations for the improvement of the children; but they found this such a hopeless, and almost cruel task, that after repeated failures, the attempt was finally abandoned. It is easy to perceive that the children after being employed all day long in field-work, and having in the evening, after taking their meals, to walk one or two miles to school, were not capable of receiving instruction. The teachers found it impossible

to keep them awake. After trying their utmost, the children would fall asleep, and drop from the benches. Altogether the evening schools presented such a disheartening and ludicrous sight, that with all their zeal, the missionaries found they could not be continued with any hope of success.

Among the adult slaves were some who rightly attributed the superiority of the white man to his greater knowledge, and who, coveting to be able to read the word of God for themselves, and if possible to equal him, exerted themselves to the utmost. On an estate where the Brethren were not permitted to preach, and instruct the slaves, a young man made enquiry everywhere for a book, and *the* book, and was informed that the bookkeeper on the estate had a New Testament in his possession. How to prevail on this man to deliver the treasure over to him, was his earnest study. He had a hen of a fine breed, which brought him much gain by raising game-cocks, at that time famous in the neighbourhood. With this hen under his arm, he went to the bookkeeper and offered it for the New Testament. His offer was accepted, and no treasure was ever carried home with greater delight. By occasional help of one and another, he succeeded in getting a knowledge of the letters; then, by dint of perseverance, he learned to read; and by imitating the printed characters, even to write. He became a correct reader and a diligent student. His library continued to increase; and as his knowledge grew, his intellect expanded. This man had a very cruel master, from whom he had to endure the most unrelenting persecution; but in spite of all opposition he prospered so much, that after a few years he paid several hundred pounds to purchase his own freedom and that of his family. He then became an overseer in a sugar plantation, and, in a few years after, the proprietor of an estate, for which he paid a large sum. While he was persecuted, and for several years

after he had become a freeman, he was humble, faithful, and to all appearance an honour to his profession, and a miracle of saving grace. But when prosperity smiled upon him, and riches increased, they became a snare to his soul. He was entangled in the things of this world; his heart became estranged from the truth; he committed evil in the sight of the Lord, and that not only once or twice, but he entered upon a long course of sin, to the grief and abasement of the missionaries, who had entertained the brightest hopes of his usefulness.

At the close of the year 1831, the number of persons under the charge of the Brethren's Church in Jamaica, including children and candidates for baptism, was 4,100, shewing an increase, since 1823, of 1800 persons. At the same time, there were sixteen missionaries, including their wives, engaged in this work.

During the eight years from 1823 to 1831, the mission continued to prosper and extend its sphere of usefulness. Four new chapels and separate mission stations, at Fairfield, New Carmel, Irwin Hill, and New Fulnec, had been built; several day and Sunday schools had been established, and the prospect for the future was cheering and encouraging. The Brethren saw and felt that the Lord had blessed their labours. They had reason to rejoice in the extension of the kingdom of God, and the conversion of many souls who were formerly the slaves of sin and satan, but now adorned the doctrine of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by following after every good work, and by a walk and conversation becoming the gospel.

CHAPTER IV.

1832—1838.

REBELLION OF THE SLAVES—CHARGES AGAINST THE BRETHREN—REFUTATION—ARREST OF A MISSIONARY—BROTHER PFEIFFER'S IMPRISONMENT—TRIAL AND RELEASE—VINDICATION—ADDRESS—INFLUENCE OF THE REBELLION UPON THE MISSION—FEMALE REFUGE SCHOOL—LOSS OF A CHILD—APPRENTICESHIP—SPREAD OF THE GOSPEL—BEAUFORT—NEW HOPE—NEW BETHLEHEM—NAZARETH — LITIZ — BETHANY — SCHOOLS — HINDRANCES—MARRIAGES LEGALIZED—STATISTICS.

The year 1832 is the most eventful in the history of the Jamaica Mission. The efforts which had for several years been made in England for the abolition of slavery, the debates which had taken place on that question in the British Parliament, and the frequent consultations and conversations thereby occasioned among the planters, could not be altogether concealed from the slaves; who imagined that the boon of civil liberty had already been granted by the British government, but was kept from them by their masters; this feeling produced discontent, and a premature struggle to set themselves free.

Towards the close of the year 1831, the slaves in the parish of St. James rose in rebellion, set fire to the buildings on the plantations, and, in a very short time, indeed within a few days, thousands of Negroes in the northern and eastern parts of the island were in arms. Consternation spread on every

hand. The white people fled to the coast towns, and many took refuge on board the vessels lying in the harbour. A militia of white and other freemen was raised, and hostilities continued for some months. The Negroes, avoiding regular field engagements, confined themselves to burning and destroying the plantations and bushfighting. About twelve white men lost their lives in this rebellion, and some hundreds of Negroes, most of whom, having been first taken prisoners, were shot or hanged.

The planters attributed the rebellion to the missionaries. The Baptist and Methodist ministers were loudly accused of being its instigators and abettors. Many of their chapels were occupied and sadly injured by the troops, and afterwards, at the close of martial law, were pulled down and destroyed by lawless mobs. Consternation spread throughout the island, and but few of the slaves dared to attend the services of the church. Many plantations round Irwin Hill were laid waste, but, owing to the exertions of the converted Negroes on Irwin estate, that property was preserved. Every effort made by the rebels to induce the slaves of this estate to join them was ineffectual. Though the slaves in the parishes of St. Elizabeth, Westmoreland, and Manchester, where our other congregations are situated, did not rise in open rebellion, yet they were greatly agitated; but being strictly watched, they remained comparatively quiet. However, every one who laid himself open to the least suspicion, was seized, confined in jail, and some were severely punished. Our missionaries were likewise suspected, and openly accused by the planters and the house of assembly, of having occasioned discontent and insurrection. The private conversations ("speakings") which the missionaries held with the slaves, were especially obnoxious to the proprietors, and they accused the Brethren of using these means to instil evil dispositions

into the minds of the people. It was easy for the missionaries to prove their innocence, as the plain facts, the conduct of their converts, and the testimony of those proprietors upon whose plantations they laboured, fully exonerated them.

From the many instances of faithfulness on the part of the converts, I shall give a few facts, in proof of the superior advantages of a system of discipline, in which the most benevolent attention to the outward comfort and improvement of the negroes is combined with constant and careful religious instruction. This will prove, to every unbiassed mind, a sufficient refutation of all the charges which were brought by unprincipled characters against the missionaries. Not one of the negroes belonging to the estates of Lennox and Hopeton, which are contiguous to New Carmel, was implicated in the late disturbances; notwithstanding the prevalence of disaffection, and the attempts which were alternately made to allure and to intimidate them, they continued faithfully to discharge their duty; and, when the danger was the most imminent, spontaneously offered to defend the property against all assailants; consequently no military guard was required on these estates. Even when the worthy proprietor was under the necessity of leaving home to join the militia, he felt no hesitation in committing his wife and family to the protection of the negroes, who appeared to be proud of the trust. The conduct of the negroes on Irwin estate, near Montego Bay, under still greater difficulties, was equally praiseworthy.

Br. Light writes: "Although I am grieved to say, that the loss of life has been considerable to the worthy proprietor of Kirkpatrick, it is some satisfaction to me to know, that not one of *our* people has been implicated."

"While martial law continued in force," writes Br. Ricksecker, of Mesopotamia, "my wife and myself were the only white persons on this estate, or, indeed, in the whole neigh-

bourhood. From the 30th of December we saw ourselves in imminent danger owing to the progress of the work of destruction around us: yet it was a satisfaction to us to perceive, that all the negroes belonging to this property continued quietly at work, and conducted themselves throughout in the most exemplary manner; instead of yielding to the solicitations of certain emissaries sent to seduce them to rebellion and violence, they apprehended two of the party, who ventured to come to the negro-village, and of whom one was provided with combustible materials."

Br. J. Scholefield, of New Carmel, writes thus: "My mind was made up not to quit my post, but to remain and do my utmost to encourage the people to attend to their duty. My dear wife would not go away without me; we therefore resolved to continue at the settlement, and commit ourselves and our dear children to the Divine protection. Our servants being free hired people, were obliged to join the militia, so that not a man was left for our protection at night. The rebellion spread rapidly, and the flames appeared all round us. Our only refuge was the Lord, whose mercy endureth for ever. Many of the free people of colour, whose husbands and sons were among the militia, came to us for shelter, so that we had more than forty females on the place, including the teachers and some children from the schools at Woodlands and the Cruze. I kept watch till half-past two o'clock every morning, then Br. Renkewitz mounted guard; but we had no weapon: *prayer and faith were our only shield.* In the midst of all this distress, we imagined that ourselves and Br. and Sr. Light were the only missionaries who were in this dilemma. How great was our surprise and distress to learn that Br. Pfeiffer had been taken into custody, and was confined at Mandeville. We often assembled with our few people, and prayed most fervently for him, nor did we fail to

experience the Lord's presence amongst us when so engaged. Several owners of slaves sent their head-people to get advice, and some came of their own accord, all of whom we admonished to be faithful in protecting their masters' property to the last, and on no account to join the rebels; and I am happy to say, they were enabled to remain faithful. Not a single member of our congregation, either at New Carmel or Beaufort, was at all implicated: on the contrary, where we had influence over the majority of the Negroes, the properties were not burnt; even in the Darliston Mountains, and the neighbouring district, several of our people were near losing their lives for their faithfulness. This was particularly the case with a man belonging to Mr. Williams, who had a mascheat (a kind of sabre) put to his throat, but would not yield. The helper Brother in that neighbourhood, David Alexander Bent, a brown slave, was entrusted with the care of his owner's property, and he kept his trust so well, that ten pounds were offered by the rebellious negroes for his head. I feel thankful in being able to report that not a single place was destroyed within five miles of New Carmel."

Under these circumstances, the arrest of a Missionary of the Brethren's church, and his indictment before a judicial tribunal for an offence equally abhorrent to his calling, and to the principles distinctly laid down for his direction, could not but be felt as a painful occurrence, both by his fellow-labourers abroad and his Brethren at home.

On this subject, Br. Ellis writes, January 11th, 1832: "Our attention is, at present, almost entirely engrossed by a circumstance, equally unexpected and distressing to us—the arrest of our dear fellow-labourer, Br. Pfeiffer, and his committal to prison, at Mandeville, to await his trial by a court-martial. What the accusations against him are I have not been able to learn, although I have been twice at Mandeville for that pur-

pose, and to ascertain in what manner we can have an opportunity given us of shewing their falsehood,—for false I am convinced they will prove to be. General Crawford, who is in command of this district, and with whom I have twice had an interview within the last two days, informs me, that written testimonials will be received by the court-martial; but that they are bound to act upon evidence given by the witnesses they have to bring forward, whose evidence, he tells me, is of a serious nature. I have done, and am still doing, all I can to collect testimonials from Br. Pfeiffer's neighbours and hearers, shewing that he never has spoken a word which would in any shape foster a spirit of discord; and if these are allowed to have their due weight, I doubt not they will entirely overthrow the charges against him, which I expect have been brought by some evil-disposed persons.

"Fortunately for *us*, the negroes belonging to our congregation in Fairfield, who have been examined hitherto, have all adhered to the truth, in declaring that we have never spoken a word to them about their freedom, nor given them the least hint of any intended alteration in their civil condition. Indeed had I been aware of the breaking out of such disturbances, I should have warned our people to beware of believing the false reports, which were more or less in circulation.

Feb. 6th, he writes: "From the tenor of my last letter, you will be anxious to hear how Br. Pfeiffer's trial has terminated, and whether any more of our Brethren are in custody by this time. Br. Pfeiffer, I am thankful to say, was found—'Not guilty,' and released; and, besides *him*, I am not aware, that the conduct of any of our number has been seriously called in question. There is still, however, an almost universally prevailing opinion among the white inhabitants, that this distressing war has been brought on by religionists; and that any one who is professedly a preacher can be innocent, is a

problem which, I suppose, some would not believe, even though it were mathematically demonstrated to them."

The following are the leading facts in Br. Pfeiffer's case.

Br. Pfeiffer being stationed in the service of the mission at New Eden, had insisted upon it, "that the instructions of the proprietor of Foster's estates should be duly observed, and that the slaves should be allowed time to attend the services of the church on the sabbath day." Instead of this they were compelled to work during crop time without intermission, even on that day. After repeated remonstrance, the missionary had threatened to report this utter disregard of the proprietor's instructions. This brought upon our brother the deep hatred of the attorney, and several other gentlemen in the neighbourhood. And the time had now arrived when they might gratify their malice, and revenge themselves upon him. To compass his destruction, if possible; among the slaves who had occasionally attended Br. Pfeiffer's ministry, four were found to witness against him. At a later period these slaves confessed their sin with deep sorrow, and stated what wicked means had been made use of to induce them not only to swerve from the truth, but to assert the most gross falsehoods. The accusation against him was, that "in the public service, on the first of January, 1832, he had called upon the people to rise, to use every means to deliver themselves from bondage, and to become free men." On Saturday, the 7th, his house at New Eden was suddenly surrounded by a troop of thirty dragoons, commanded by Lieutenant Hogg, and, without being permitted to take a change of clothes, under a heavy fall of rain, he was hurried off to a place called Oxford, on the confines of the parishes of St. Elizabeth and Manchester, experiencing, as might be anticipated from the excitement prevailing against all missionaries, the most abusive treatment by the way.

Here he remained till the afternoon of Sunday, when he was ordered off, under an escort of twelve men to Mandeville, the principal place in the parish of Manchester, which is situated in another county. He arrived there in the middle of the night, and the jail being already filled with prisoners, he was confined in the gallery of the parish church, and left for two days without any food, until hunger, and a painful swelling in his face, reduced him to great distress. After being thus cruelly neglected, he was supplied with bread rolled in sand. In this miserable condition, he was informed by one messenger after another, that he was to be shot in a few days. This was a severe trial of his faith, and he often bowed his knees at the throne of grace, to implore the protection of him who is able to save to the uttermost. On one such occasion, his eyes fell on an old torn book, lying under one of the benches; he took it up, and found that it was part of a prayer-book. This was a great consolation to him. He believed that his prayer was heard, for by this means the Lord had sent him comfort. That old worn-out prayer-book brought him consolation. He could now read portions of the gospels and epistles, which were like balm to his afflicted soul. There he was surrounded by evil-minded, wicked, and ungodly men; separated from his brethren, who were not permitted to hold any communication with him; but he felt that God was his refuge—"A very present help in the time of trouble." He felt convinced that the Lord would deliver him out of the hands of his deceitful and cruel persecutors. As the day of trial came on, his cry to the Saviour for help became more fervent. Still, he had learned to say, "Father, not my will, but thine, be done."

In this way, while confined in the gallery of Mandeville church, Br. Pfeiffer, with confidence committed his cause to God. The evening before his trial, at nine o'clock, sitting

quite alone, his heart lifted up in prayer to the Lord for help, he heard footsteps in the gallery stairs, and looking up, recognized an officer of the militia stationed at Mandeville, who thus addressed him: "Mr. Pfeiffer, nobody must know that I am here. You will not betray me. I am not a religious man; I care nothing for your religion; but I am an honourable man, and I hate to see the dishonourable means that are made use of for your destruction. You are betrayed; everybody is against you; even your lawyer deceived you when he said, 'You need not send for witnesses to clear your character, for that they would be of no avail.' I tell you, they will shoot you tomorrow, unless a messenger be sent this very night to St. Elizabeth, to bring as many witnesses on your behalf as possible." "But," replied Br. Pfeiffer, "what shall I do? I have neither paper, pencil, nor ink, to write a letter." "I have thought of that," said his visitor; "here are paper and pencil." "But," said the missionary, "I have nobody to send. Who will go on a message for me?" "I will care for that," was the reply of the officer; "I will send one of my soldiers, as though he was carrying an important despatch from the government to St. Elizabeth; only, do not betray me, or I am a lost man." This plan was carried out; half-an-hour after, one of the troopers was riding in all haste to St. Elizabeth, where he arrived by one o'clock; and so well was the business conducted, by the person to whom the letter was addressed, that at three o'clock, at least forty persons were on their way to Mandeville; and next morning, at eight o'clock, when Br. Pfeiffer was brought into court for his trial, to the astonishment of his cruel persecutors, these witnesses requested to be examined for the defence, and more were continually coming in to present themselves for the same purpose. They could not be refused a hearing, and their evidence exposed the falsehood of the charge made against

him so completely, that a verdict of *acquittal*, could not be withheld.

Thus the Lord answered the prayer of his servant in a most remarkable manner. The enemy was put to shame, and he was delivered out of the hands of them that hated him. The Brethren never exposed, as it well deserved, all the devices of his enemies against him. They have been content to leave them to their own reflections, and the mercy of the Lord. Most of them are no longer in the land of the living, and the few that still remain, think and feel very differently. They have always remained ignorant of the real cause of Br. Pfeiffer's deliverance; and, to the best of my knowledge, this is the first public intimation that has ever been given of it.

As soon as Br. Pfeiffer's arrest became known in England, every effort was made for his release, and an order obtained from the colonial office to the government of Jamaica, to delay the execution of any harsh sentence. But it is not likely that this would have been of any avail to him, as the sentence, if it had been passed, would have been executed long before it was possible for the order to arrive.

Br. Ellis, writing on this painful subject, says: "On Monday morning, Jan. 9th, I heard of Br. Pfeiffer's arrest, and hastened to Mandeville, which is only about seven or eight miles distant from Fairfield. I was permitted to see him in the presence of two officers; and had an interview with General Crawford, but could not be informed for what he was imprisoned, nor when the trial was to take place. As I was told that this depended on despatches from St. Elizabeth's, and it was uncertain when they might arrive, I thought it best to return to Mandeville on Tuesday morning, (the 10th), hoping, at least, to have the same privilege I had enjoyed the preceding day, of conversing with the prisoner; but this time, I was neither allowed to see him, nor to speak to him, nor to communicate

with him by writing. I was meanwhile informed, on high authority, that the prisoner would not be allowed to bring personal evidence to witness in his behalf, but that the only thing which could possibly be allowed, would be written testimonials. On applying to General Robertson, he informed me, that such evidence would be of *no avail* before a court-martial. On Wednesday, the 11th, I did not go to Mandeville, as I had been ordered away from the place on the preceding day; however, in the evening, I received a few lines from Br. Pfeiffer, informing me that his trial was to come on, on the following day, at ten o'clock. By this time I had learnt so much of court-martials, as to be aware that we could defer the proceedings, till we had had sufficient time to summon witnesses on the part of the accused. This was accordingly done; and the court, which assembled on the 12th, was adjourned till the following Monday, the 15th.

"We might, had we but known it, have demanded a copy of the charges against Br. Pfeiffer, and a list of the persons by whose evidence they were to be supported: this would have saved the trouble and expense of calling so many witnesses, and would, at the same time, have enabled us more fully to refute the accusations against him. As it was, we went to trial, without knowing one of the witnesses for the prosecution, or what falsehoods or absurdities they were about to bring forward. On Monday, the 15th, about twelve o'clock, the court opened; and, after the usual forms were gone through, one *Sarah Wilson*, a slave, belonging to Glenhead, was brought in, who deposed, 'that she heard Mr. P. say, at Christmas, that negroes were to be free, and that *free* would soon come; that they were to come down on New Year's Day, and attend church the same as usual. That when they went on that day, Mr. Pfeiffer had said, loud enough for

all in the church to hear, that, if they did not now take their freedom, they would never get it, and that they must come down again next Friday.' Another slave from the same place, called *Ellen Dobie*, who was excluded for adultery, at least six years ago, and who never attends church, told much the same kind of lies, with the addition, 'that Mr. Pfeiffer had informed them, if they worked on Monday, the 2nd of January, they would have to work till their death.' These two witnesses did not, however, agree in their evidence, as *Sarah* declared that '*Ellen* was sick on New Year's Day, and was not at church,' though *Ellen* pretended to tell much of what she had heard on *that day*, and presently after admitted, '*she did not hear it with her own ears.*' One *John Sutton* was then called in, and deposed that 'he had heard Mr. P. say at church, about five weeks *before* Christmas, they must keep on praying, for what had been so long promised them would come soon now. They would soon be freed from slavery in this world, if they kept on praying, and would be rewarded in heaven. Heard negroes from Two-mile Wood say—What does Mr. Pfeiffer tell us now (when they had struck work) we are to work for, when he told us before we were to be free?' *Robert Wilson*, another freeman, was then called in, and stated somewhat to the same effect as the rest; only, he mentioned Mr. Pfeiffer's visit to Two-mile Wood to have taken place at a different time from what *Sutton* had stated. One of the witnesses also stated, that 'Mr. P. had said—I have now armed you with the word of God, no bullet can hurt you.' Had Br. Pfeiffer been assisted in his cross-examination of the witnesses for the prosecution, or even in the examination of his own, by any person accustomed to the task, I will venture to assert, that his accusers would have been signally confounded and put to shame. Yet, notwithstanding the disadvantages under which he laboured, the truth burst forth;

yet it is not unto us, but unto God's name, that all the praise is due. The whole of both Tuesday and Wednesday was occupied in taking evidence in Br. Pfeiffer's favour, and there yet remained several persons who were not called; indeed, we could have summoned witnesses who would have employed the court till now, all declaring, that, 'though constant attendants at New Eden chapel, they never heard Br. P. mention a word about the slaves being made free; but, on the contrary, always heard him tell them, they should be obedient to their masters, and faithful in the performance of every duty required of them.'

"The next morning, Br. P.'s defence was read by the Deputy-Judge-Advocate, and after a little consultation, a verdict was returned of—'Not guilty.'

"During this anxious period, Sr. Pfeiffer and children took refuge with us, at Fairfield, and Br. Pfeiffer, after his release, joined them, and remained a fortnight longer with us, for the restoration of his health and spirits."

On March 16th, Br. Pfeiffer writes: "The celebration of the Passion-week and the Easter festival, was peculiarly blessed to our negro flock. The services on Good Friday were well attended, and a general emotion was manifested among all present, while we knelt in spirit round the cross of our dying Redeemer, and devoted ourselves anew to Him, who loved us, even unto death. The negroes said one to another, as they came out of church—'this was a happy meeting.' On Easter Sunday, a very great number attended our services, so that I was obliged to preach twice in succession. Already before daybreak our church was crowded. It was a truly blessed day to us all: our Saviour manifested himself to our souls as He did to the mourning disciples, as our risen and ever-living Redeemer. The day was particularly solemnized by the baptism of seven adults, all belonging to Elim, among

whom was a blind negro; two were at the same time received into the congregation. Notwithstanding some discouraging circumstances, and various defects, too easily discoverable both in ourselves and the negroes committed to our care, I may venture to say, that the prospect before us is altogether of a very promising kind. On several of the estates around us there are, I trust, not a few who are genuine followers of Christ, earnestly desirous of living for him, and glorifying his name; but, as you justly observed, the work in which we are engaged calls for patience, perseverance, and fervent prayer.

"You will be pleased to hear that our day-school is going on satisfactorily. We had lately eight who could read the Testament well, of whom five have since left; fourteen read easy lessons; thirteen are in words of two syllables, and twelve are learning the alphabet; of these thirty-five belong to the Bogue.

"That the negroes on this estate behaved well during the unhappy insurrection, will be a cause of thankfulness to the worthy proprietors. They merely left off work for a few hours, in consequence of being threatened with the destruction of their houses and cane-pieces, by the insurgents. However, when I went over to them, and begged them to return to their duty, they complied without much hesitation. On the adjoining estates the members of our congregation likewise conducted themselves properly; but you will have heard with pain, that this was not the case with a number of those who reside in the mountain district. Of the great and most unexpected trouble in which I have been personally involved, you will have heard some particulars from Br. Ellis; I, therefore, the more willingly omit any further reference to it. Our feelings in regard to it, are, I trust, correctly expressed

in the exclamation of an afflicted patriarch of old—*Shall we receive good at the hand of the Lord, and shall we not receive evil?* Pray for us, that a large measure of grace and wisdom may be imparted to us at this critical juncture; and that our faith and confidence in God our Saviour may be strengthened."

March 23rd, Br. Pfeiffer again writes: "Our congregation, I regret to state, is much scattered, in consequence of the late unhappy rebellion. The negroes are prohibited from leaving their estates without a passport, which is not easily obtained. Thus our church is principally attended by the negroes from the neighbouring properties; and, as it is crop-time, I cannot expect many of them to come. That some of our church members have proved unfaithful in the late rebellion, is a source of great distress to us. I am sure, that the proprietors cannot feel more about it than we do. O that the good Shepherd and Bishop of our souls may bring back the sheep who have strayed from him, and lead them into his fold again. Two negroes belonging to New-Eden congregation were executed. The feelings of our hearts, when we heard it, I cannot describe. It is remarkable that the negroes who joined the rebels, were chiefly such as had given evidence of a very lukewarm state of heart, principally people who were tired of going to church, and seldom attended. They have caused us a great deal of trouble for the last two years. I often exhorted them to repent, and to seek the Lord, from whom they had strayed; but it seemed as if their hearts were hardened, so that my exhortations found no entrance. A proprietor from one of those places where the negroes rebelled, and many of whom attended our church, called on us about eight weeks before Christmas. He inquired my opinion of his negroes. According to his wish, I gave him a candid statement, and told him, that it was my opinion that his negroes were tired

of coming to church, and that they were leading at home an immoral and unchristian life; that we had been under the painful necessity of excluding some already from our connexion, and I was afraid that many more would follow. After the rebellion, I saw this gentleman again, and he remembered our conversation.

"Br. and Sr. Renkewitz are here with us, for the purpose of taking my duties for a few weeks, whilst I visit Westmoreland, for change of air. I have been suffering severely from boils, since my confinement at Mandeville, and have not yet recovered; but I hope in the course of eight or ten days, to be so far restored to health, as to be able to set out upon our journey to New Carmel."

Br. Light writes: "Our dear and worthy friends, the Rev. Mr. Murray and his wife, Missionaries of the Wesleyan Society, who so kindly gave us shelter during the awful period of last January, have for some time past been prevented from exercising their ministerial duties, their chapel being shut up and their congregation forbidden to assemble to edify each other. They have of late attended our public services. Last Sunday, with about thirty of their communicants, they joined us at the Lord's Supper. It proved to them, as well as to ourselves, a very refreshing season."

Notwithstanding the weight of evidence demonstrating the innocence of our missionaries regarding this unhappy rebellion, still, the accusations against the Brethren were, so openly made, that they felt themselves compelled publicly to refute these charges. A vindication of their conduct may be seen in the "*Periodical Accounts*," of April 1832; and as it is an interesting document in the history of the Jamaica Mission, its republication in this place may not be considered irrelevant.

"REMONSTRANCE *of the Missionaries of the* UNITED BRETHREN *in* JAMAICA, *against the Report of the Committee of the* HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, *on the subject of the late Rebellion; presented in April* 1832.

"THE House of Assembly of Jamaica, have, through the Report of the Committee, appointed to investigate the causes which led to the late rebellion, condemned the preaching and teaching of the United Brethren (or Moravians), as having conduced to that calamity, by the following assertion: 'The preaching and teaching of the religious sects called Baptists, Wesleyans, and Moravians, had the effect of producing in the minds of the slaves a belief that they could not serve both a spiritual and temporal master; thereby occasioning them to resist the lawful authority of their temporal, under the delusion of rendering themselves more acceptable to a spiritual master.' We firmly believe that the above charge is without foundation. The preaching and teaching of the United Brethren (or Moravians), as is well known to all unprejudiced men possessing opportunities for correct observation, have a tendency directly opposed to the above assertion. Can it be believed, that the doctrine of Christ Jesus our Lord, who humbled Himself to become a servant for our sakes, (for this is our theme continually) should render a servant, a slave, unfaithful to an earthly master, while studious of pleasing his Heavenly master? Do we, indeed, preach that a slave cannot serve his earthly and his heavenly master at the same time? Far be this from us. We not only teach submission and obedience to the powers that be, as unto magistrates, but we likewise faithfully inculcate the Apostolic precept, 1 Pet. ii. 18, 21. '*Servants, be obedient to your masters, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward, for Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example to follow His steps;*' and a refractory servant, should he continue disobedient, is as sure to meet

with the exercise of church discipline, as those who are found guilty of other offences. For the further vindication of our character, but especially for the future prosperity of our missionary work, we deem it necessary to add the following observations, which will shew upon what untenable grounds the above opinion of the Committee of the House of Assembly has been formed.

"1. The evidence before the Committee was entirely *ex parte;* not one of *our* body was examined as to our doctrines and proceedings; neither was enquiry made of our *friends* or constant *hearers,* as to the nature of our public and private instructions, and the effect thereby produced upon the minds and conduct of their slaves. In truth, the Report was framed in direct opposition to the unequivocal testimonies of some of the most respectable gentlemen in the island, who had the moral courage to declare their unbiassed sentiments.

"2. As the evidence upon which the Missionaries of the United Brethren have been thus publicly condemned, has never been published, we presume it could only be derived from private accusations of negro-slaves, or, from the admitted and deeply regretted fact, that some of our members were, by listening to mischievous reports, for a short time, drawn aside from their duty. Against the former kind of evidence, we most solemnly protest, if any such existed; for, in common justice, these witnesses should have been confronted with the accused party, that the truth or falsehood of their statement might have been ascertained; the more so, as the lamentable habits of equivocation of most slaves, especially in times of peril, are well known.

"3. In explanation of the admitted fact, that a *few* of our members did abandon their employ for a day or two, (without however committing a single *act of violence)* while the vast majority remained quietly at their work, the following remarks

are necessary. The negroes, on several properties in the immediate vicinity of those on which our people had failed in their duty, had struck work, and, though visited by the military, continued refractory. Messengers from these properties, and even from a greater distance, threatened the more peaceably disposed negroes with the burning of their houses, and the destruction of their property, if they continued to work; and these intimidations, added to the assurance that their neighbours, who had ceased to work, had not been punished by the military, unfortunately led them to follow this bad example; which was the more easy, as all the *free* people were *absent* on military duty. Credulity was the origin of their offence. They believed the current report, that the king had made them free; listened to the cajoling of designing negroes, were strengthened in their belief by the impunity of their neighbours, and thus became delinquents. But they committed no acts of violence, and shewed no signs of hostility to their owners.

"4. In most of our congregations however, and those nearest to the main seat of rebellion, (New Carmel, New Fulneck, Mesopotamia, Malvern, and Beaufort's,) not even a single member was implicated; whilst some, who did not belong to our church, and a *few* of those who had been but a very short time under instruction, were unfortunately hurried along by the general excitement. *Whole* properties, where the Brethren have been favoured to sow the seed of the gospel without restraint, remained perfectly quiet, while fires were blazing within a few miles of them, and no military were in the vicinity for several days! On one estate, which was left entirely deserted by the proprietor removing to the town with his family, the negroes guarded his house and effects, and were determined to defend it to the last, though the rebels burned several houses within a mile of them; and the proprietor de-

clared on his return, that he had not lost the smallest trifle. Indeed, we have been credibly informed, that the rebels declared they could make no progress, when they came to the Moravian congregations! Many instances of individual fidelity might also be mentioned, from which we select a few. The two negroes belonging to Mesopotamia estate in Westmoreland, whose names are registered among those who are to receive public rewards from the Colonial Government, with three others who helped to secure two armed rebels, are members of our Church, and received from the resident missionary the passport with which they conducted their prisoners to Savanna-la-Mar.

"On another *property*, a rebel of some notoriety was apprehended by the exertions of the helper, and several members of the church! Another communicant member conducted himself so well during the revolt, that his master intends giving him his freedom! An estate could also be mentioned where we have only a single member, and he alone stood firm, when all the rest absconded! Not to multiply instances, we will mention but one more. A member of our church secured his own daughter, and placed her under the immediate eye of his master, a gentleman of known kindness and humanity, because she had made use of some suspicious expressions!

"5. Our *Helpers*, or native assistants, being particularly noticed in the Report, as having assisted in bringing about the late awful calamity, by an abuse of their office, it is necessary to advert to the charge in a particular manner. Without dwelling further on the fact, that a number of *free* persons, themselves slave owners, sustain the office of Helpers, several of whom received the warmest commendation from their officers, for their conduct in the ranks during the late rebellion, we shall notice the meritorious behaviour of our slave Helpers. One was left in charge of his master's house and effects

all the time he was absent on military duty; and he maintained his post manfully and faithfully, although there was no military force for several miles round, and the rebels, who were within a mile of him, had, it is affirmed, offered a reward of thirty dollars for his head! Another helper took care of his master's house as long as he could, and when overpowered by numbers and taken prisoner, he contrived to make his escape, and to give very useful and accurate information of the numbers and position of the revolted slaves. His wife, also a helper, managed, in the meantime, to secure a great part of her master's furniture and effects in her own house. On another property, it was principally by the exertions of the helper, (not the driver,) that the negroes were induced to turn out to work again, after having struck for a day or two!— The helper on Williamsfield, St. James's, lamented that there were not ten like-minded with himself on his master's property, 'for,' said he, 'had there been so many with me, my master's property would never have been burned.' And when the rebels, from twelve to fifteen in number, came from the adjacent estate, brandishing their mascheats, he went down to meet them, demanding their errand; and when they ordered him away, raising their mascheats against him, he bent his neck towards them, to shew he was not to be intimidated, while others, who had been considered trustworthy, withdrew to save their lives. We have not any doubt, that to the firmness and good conduct of the helper at Irwin, together with the watchfulness of a few others, may be attributed the stand made by that estate, against every attempt of their unfaithful neighbours to injure or destroy the owner's property. Of the rest of our helpers, much might be said to insure for them the praise and esteem of all who rejoice in the good effects produced by Christian instruction, but we forbear. There was but one exception, and this man, being himself

beguiled by others, deceived us, and proved unfaithful by absconding. On repeated examination, even *he* however declared the entire innocence of the missionaries, and persisted to the last in asserting, that he had brought all upon himself!

"6. How little we deserve the charge made against us, will also appear from the fact, which can be fully substantiated, that on the breaking out of the insurrection, several proprietors sent some of their principal slaves to the neighbouring missionary, to ask his advice in their critical situation; and that without exception, the negroes on those properties remained quietly at their work, though the incendiaries were not many miles distant from them.

"7. Br. Pfeiffer's trial by a court martial, on the charge of seditious preaching, forms a prominent feature in the late insurrection. The improper and incomplete statements concerning that trial, which have gone forth, may perhaps have left a shadow of doubt, as to his innocence, on the minds of some persons who have only cursorily perused the minutes of the trial, &c.; and in order to obviate this, the following remarks are offered. All the gentlemen of the bar were at the time on military duty, and Br. Pfeiffer, who was entirely ignorant of the proceedings of a court martial, very naturally made several material omissions which might have proved fatal, if he had not had such a number of witnesses in his favour. When the court was opened on Thursday, January 12th, and afterwards adjourned to Monday 16th, he was not aware that he could have demanded a copy of the charges against him, and therefore this was not obtained. In this uncertainty, he met his trial on Monday, January 16th, with such witnesses as he had hastily summoned on vague rumours of the charge to be brought forward, but not at all prepared to meet any specific accusation. But even in this unequal conflict, truth prevailed, and he was acquitted! It should

further be known, that Br. Pfeiffer, on account of the state of his health, was obliged to close his defence much sooner than he would otherwise have done, for he had at least ten witnesses still in attendance, and might have summoned many more. Again, how preposterous was the charge against him! 'That he had in *open Church*, before hundreds of people, among whom were *free* persons, themselves *slave owners*, told the Negroes they were free,' thus exposing himself to immediate detection and punishment! But this charge was distinctly disproved; and if Br. Pfeiffer had been aware of the nature of the evidence, he could have proved that Robert Wilson, though he shewed himself a few times on the mission premises, never put his foot in the church!—Sutton declared, 'he had heard Mr. Pfeiffer express seditious sentiments about six weeks before Christmas, in an evening meeting,' when it afterwards appeared in evidence, 'that he' (Sutton) 'had not been in the church for the space of two years!' and this might have been fully confirmed. And what was the character of the witnesses against Br. Pfeiffer? Sutton, a prisoner in irons, was escorted by a company of militia to Mandeville from the place of his confinement, gave his evidence against Br. Pfeiffer, was taken back to his former quarters, tried, convicted of having excited to rebellion the slaves on Elim estate, (one of the estates on which Br. Pfeiffer labours,) condemned, and shot! Robert Wilson is strongly suspected to be a runaway slave, though calling himself free, and of having stirred up the Negroes on Lancaster estate to revolt; and we now know, that, on the day and at the time when he professed to have heard Br. Pfeiffer preach freedom to the slaves, he was several miles distant, on a property where his mother and family are all slaves. Both of these witnesses were doubtless *perjured* in asserting their freedom. The two other witnesses were women from Glenhead; one had been *excluded*

from the Church for gross immorality; and the other was so sensible of the falsehoods she was uttering, that she did not once hold up her head, thereby eliciting the question from the Court, 'Whether she was afraid Mr. Pfeiffer would do her any harm?' Besides, (which is not inserted in the official report of the trial,) she flatly contradicted her fellow-servant, asserting that, 'the latter had not been at church on the day she declared she had heard Mr. Pfeiffer tell the negroes they were free.' In reality, Br. Pfeiffer did much to restore tranquility; and it was by his persuasions that the negroes at the Bogue, who struck work for a few hours, returned to their duty, on receiving the assurance that they would be protected by the military against any evil-disposed persons.

"8. The United Brethren possess the unequivocal testimonials of some of the most respectable proprietors in the island, in fact of *all* those who are intimately acquainted with their system of religious instruction. They have already published some of these, and now annex a few others.

"[Here follow letters containing the most decided and honourable testimonies to the doctrine, character, and conduct of the Brethren's Missionaries in Jamaica, from the following gentlemen:—M. Farquharson, esq. clerk of the peace, and of the vestry in St. Elizabeth's; James Miller, esq., senior magistrate of St. Elizabeth's, and retired colonel of the regiment; L. H. Evelyn, esq., collector of His Majesty's customs at Savanna-la-Mar; Dr. Anderson, also a magistrate; James Campbell, overseer on Y. S. estate; and several others. Similar testimonials had been previously inserted in the *Jamaica Courant* and *Kingston Chronicle*, from a yet greater number of resident gentlemen, including the Custos of St. Elizabeth, Major-General Robertson, and seven other magistrates, among whom are, W. Farquharson, H. Scott, W. F. Cooper, and W. Lidjard, esquires.]

To this *Vindication* of the character and conduct of our missionaries, it may not be out of place to add the following remarks by the Editor of "*The Periodical Accounts*," who, from his official position in the church, was certainly as well qualified as any man of that day to form a correct opinion of this unhappy rebellion; and the very trying position in which our brethren found themselves placed in consequence. He writes:

"Amid the uncertainties and suspense which were inseparable from the state of rebellion around the missionaries, and particularly in a case like that of Br. Pfeiffer's, it was difficult to dismiss every feeling of apprehension, or to avoid exclaiming, '*If the Lord be with us, why then is all this befallen us.*' Yet, now that we have been permitted to see the deliverance which the Lord has vouchsafed unto his servant, and to rejoice together over the establishment of his innocence in the sight of all men, we would gladly shew our gratitude for these mercies, not merely by offering the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, but likewise by manifesting a spirit of submission to the Divine will in all things, and by the avoidance of every feeling or expression that might justly be deemed inconsistent with the character and example of our blessed Master; '*Who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, threatened not, but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously.*'

"It may not be improper here to observe, that in conducting his defence, Br. Pfeiffer had to struggle with difficulties of no ordinary description. Not to dwell on the circumstance of his being a foreigner, and but imperfectly acquainted with the English language in; consequence of the disturbed state of the country, and the distance of Mandeville from any town, no legal advice or assistance was to be procured; and none of our brethren were allowed to supply this deficiency. Again, owing to some strange misinformation, much valuable time

was wasted in the collection of written testimonials, which proved to be of no service whatever. And for want of a copy of the indictment, and a list of the witnesses for the prosecution, the accused was obliged to proceed to trial without having had any opportunity of meeting the charge in the most direct and satisfactory manner, by the selection of evidence best calculated to prove its falsehood as well as its absurdity. To show the character of the four witnesses for the prosecution, it will be sufficient to refer to the published report of the trial, and the Earl of Belmore's despatch to Viscount Goderich, of the 10th of February; in which the melancholy fate of the principal evidence, *John Sutton*, who, very shortly after the acquittal of Br. Pfeiffer, was tried, condemned, and executed, for being an active agent in the insurrection, is particularly adverted to by his Lordship.

"It is impossible to conclude these remarks, without an expression of gratitude to His Majesty's Government, for the protection and support spontaneously rendered to the cause of Missions at this critical juncture. On the first intimation of the revolt which had taken place, every needful direction was sent out by Viscount Goderich, His Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, to secure to the parties accused the benefit of a constitutional trial, and the further advantage of having any sentence that might be passed, revised by His Majesty in Council. It is hardly necessary to add, that the application for a special interference in behalf of Br. Pfeiffer, which it was deemed proper to make on the first news of his arrest, was granted by his Lordship with equal kindness and promptitude.*

* This laudable interference of government came too late to prevent several hasty executions; and it would most probably have been too late in Br. Pfeiffer's case also, had not the Lord in his mercy provided a way of escape for his servant, as we have seen.—Ed.

"To all those generous friends in the island of Jamaica, who came forward, either with or without legal summons, to bear their testimony to the character and conduct of Br. Pfeiffer, and likewise to all who exercised hospitality to our missionaries, during their temporary banishment from their posts, we beg to offer a similar tribute of grateful acknowledgment. The kind reception given to Br. and Sr. Light, of Irwin-hill, by the Rev. Mr. Murray, the Wesleyan Missionary at Montego Bay, and his wife, will always be thankfully remembered by them.

"We beg to assure our brethren and fellow-labourers of other denominations, of the deep and cordial sympathy which the intelligence of their heavy losses, and the personal sufferings of their Missionaries, during this trying period, has excited in our breasts. Could we serve them more effectually than by our prayers, we would gladly do it, for we acknowledge ourselves to be greatly their debtors; but since this is not the case, we the more fervently commend the work committed to their instrumentality, and the servants of our common Lord who are engaged in it, to the gracious support, and powerful help of Him who hath declared, *that no weapon formed against his cause shall prosper; for he that toucheth his servant, toucheth the apple of his eye.*"

On the arrival of the Earl of Belmore to take his place at the head of the government in Jamaica, our missionaries presented him with the following Address:

The Address *of the Brethren's Missionaries in* Jamaica *to the Earl of Belmore, and his Excellency's Reply.*

ADDRESS.

"WE, the ordained Ministers of the Episcopal Church of the United Brethren, sent forth to preach the gospel to the negroes and others in the Island of Jamaica, beg leave to offer our

sincere congratulations on your Excellency's arrival at the seat of your Government.

"We feel particularly thankful to our most gracious Sovereign, for having placed us under the protection of your Lordship, and confidently hope that a steady perseverance in our efforts to disseminate the great truths of the Son of God, who 'shall speak peace to the heathen,' may meet your Lordship's approbation, and continue to secure to us the fair exercise of our religious functions, which we and our predecessors in Jamaica have enjoyed since the year 1754. We shall, to the utmost of our power, endeavour to merit a continuance of the favour and indulgence granted to our Church by an Act of Parliament of Great Britain passed in the twenty-second year of the reign of His Majesty George II.; as well as the goodwill and approbation of the worthy proprietors, resident in the vicinity of our several settlements in this island; many of whom have so recently come forward with testimonials on our behalf.

"May our gracious God vouchsafe to our beloved Sovereign William IV., and every branch of the royal family, his choicest blessing; and may he grant to your Lordship, and your esteemed Countess, uninterrupted health and happiness, with a rich measure of wisdom from above, to direct your Lordship in the important concerns of your government; and that your Lordship's endeavours may be abundantly prospered, and crowned with success, is the sincere wish and prayer of the Ministers of the Church of the United Brethren."

HIS EXCELLENCY'S REPLY.

"Gentlemen,—I return my sincere thanks to the Ministers of the Episcopal Church of the United Brethren, for their congratulations upon my arrival, and their good wishes for the success of my government.

"I am duly impressed with the paramount importance of

the general diffusion of religious instruction; and whilst, as heretofore, you can appeal to the fact that, in the true spirit of the gospel, you preach the doctrines of 'peace and good-will amongst men,' you will, by such a line of conduct, obtain the protection of all persons in authority, merit the concurrence of the proprietors residing in your vicinity, and best ensure the continued success of your virtuous endeavours."

Throughout this unhappy period of rebellion, the conduct of the converted slaves was most praiseworthy. The preservation of life and property could, in many instances, only be ascribed to their interference and faithfulness. In no instance was any one of them led to commit acts of violence; but on several estates, they joined in the general refusal of the slaves to go to work. This act of insubordination was, at that time, visited with the heaviest penalty, and consequently several of them were shot as rebels. The meetings of the slaves after sunset were strictly interdicted; and even on the Sabbath day, the Negroes scarcely ventured to visit the house of God. During the first months of the year 1832, not more than thirty or forty would venture to attend the services of the church. This reign of terror was, however, of no long duration. Hostilities subsided after two or three months, and in April the chapels were again filled with overflowing auditories. The apprehensions of the Brethren were allayed, their zeal revived, and the very same year the labours of the missionaries were extended considerably. At Beaufort, where the chapel had to be removed, as already stated, they succeeded in securing some land; and one of the missionaries having been established there, this place became a regular station in 1832.

Under the auspices of the "Ladies Association for the Education of the people of colour," a Female Refuge School was

established at Fairfield, in 1832. Twenty-four orphan girls were collected in this institution, who were instructed and superintended by some Moravian sisters from England. The governor, the Earl of Mulgrave, with his lady and suite, visited and inspected this school in 1833, and patronized it. Lady Mulgrave soon after sent two Negro girls to be educated in this Institution, who had been rescued from slavery: the vessel in which they were bound for Cuba, having been shipwrecked on the coast of Jamaica, near Kingston. When baptized, they were called after her ladyship, Mulgrave. One of them became a teacher in our day-school at Bethlehem, and in 1842, married Mr. Thompson, a black man, who had been educated at Basle, in Switzerland, and was going as a missionary to Guinea. Several who were educated in this institution served in after years as teachers in our schools, while others became servants in respectable families. The Female Refuge School was continued until 1844, when the funds of the society became low, and a training school of young men having been established at Fairfield, it was thought advisable to close it; a resolution which was much regretted by many.

One singular and sad event, in connexion with this school may be mentioned. Among the scholars was a little girl of ten years of age, an orphan child of English emigrants. She was very affectionate, but sickly, and being frequently subject to epileptic fits, was, in consequence, occasionally absent and melancholy. One day she asked leave to go into the garden; not returning after the expiration of half-an-hour, she was looked for but could not be found. That evening, about fifty men with torches set out in search of her, and continued, during the night, and for several days, to scour the woods and rocks within two or three miles round Fairfield; but it was all in vain, not a trace of her could be

discovered, until four weeks after, when her clothes were found, lying on a rock in the woods, a mile from Fairfield. What had become of the child, nobody could ever discover. It is supposed that in one of her absent and dreaming fits, she must have wandered into the woods, and that when night set in, she undressed herself, as if going to bed, and had very likely fallen into one of the sink-holes which abound here, some of them unfathomable.

In 1834, the first step towards the entire manumission of the slaves was taken by the government. On the first of August, the system of apprenticeship was introduced, which bound the slave to work *forty* hours in the week for his master; fixed the time of labour at eight hours a day; and by allowing Saturday for the slave to attend to his garden and go to market, left him at liberty to attend the house of God on the Sabbath-day. At the same time the children under six years of age were declared to be free. The power of punishing the slave was taken from the master, and a number of stipendiary magistrates were sent from England, to protect the rights of the slave. The first of August, 1834, was proclaimed a general holiday, the churches were crowded, hymns of praise and thanksgiving resounded, happiness and joy were depicted in every face; and the ministers, directing the people to bow in gratitude before the Lord, the giver of every good thing, endeavoured to give them a clear understanding of the relation in which they stood to their masters, and the duties incumbent on them.

It is the opinion of almost every one, who has seen the working of this system, that it is much to be regretted it was ever introduced. By it the labouring man was taught to consider eight hours work in a day, and five days in the week, as the standard of diligence. Sloth and indolence were thereby sanctioned and legalized. Nevertheless, by emanci-

pating the slave from the caprice and tyranny of his master, this system was highly favourable to the cause of the mission. Henceforward all were at liberty to attend the means of grace, not only on the Sabbath-day, but likewise during the week. The evening being the only time when the missionaries could instruct the slaves they found themselves sadly impeded in their labours when forbidden to meet them on week-day evenings; but now the church-bell called upon them almost every evening to assemble for instruction, of this they were not slow to avail themselves. The general impression among the people appeared to be, that the change in their outward condition was to be ascribed to the influence of the gospel, and the labours of the missionaries. And without clearly understanding the relations between cause and effect, they became more willing to listen to the message of peace, and more anxious to be instructed in the christian religion.

Up to May 1834, the majority of the people had by no means been brought under the sound of the gospel. The number of attendants in the house of God was small compared with the bulk of the people, and the number of church members and communicants still smaller. There were then several estates where the slaves were strictly prohibited from attending on the means of grace, and where every transgression was visited with heavy punishments. But now these hindrances were all removed, and on every hand there were open doors for preaching the gospel of which the Brethren readily availed themselves, only regretting that the number of those who could attend for instruction was not twice as large."

Br. Zorn writes, April 20th, 1835: "What times are these! and what calls to work while it is day! For these stirring times the Lord has supplied grace to the hearts of his servants to do his work with greater alacrity and devoted-

ness, I think, than in former years. May we all stimulate each other to increasing and persevering exertion in winning souls for Christ."

Around all the existing mission establishments, out places were formed, where the Brethren went to preach during the week. Several of these in time became regular mission stations. At Beaufort, in the Darlington mountains, a chapel had been built, which was opened for public worship on the 21st of April, 1837. At Malvern, in the St. Cruze mountains, where the Brethren from Fairfield had preached for some time, and a missionary had been stationed since 1833, a chapel was built and dedicated to the service of God, on the 5th of December, 1834, and called *New Bethlehem*. At Parkersbay, eight miles from New Carmel, a congregation was gathered, and a chapel-school-house built, called *New Hope;* a brother went to reside there in 1835. At *Nazareth*, in the Manchester mountains, a chapel school-house was built in 1835. In the Mile-gully mountains, a brother went to reside in 1836; and on May 7th, 1840, a chapel was opened, and the place called *Bethany*. And in the Savannah, at the foot of the Manchester mountains, where the Brethren had preached the gospel since 1804, a chapel was built in 1839, and called Lititz.

However, while the Brethren rejoiced over the spread of the gospel, and the removal of outward hindrances, which are always keenly felt by man, they knew by experience, that these are not the most formidable to the work of grace. The darkness which covers the mind of man, his inability to understand heavenly things, the natural enmity of the carnal mind against God, are much more difficult to overcome and dispel. Nothing but the light and power of the Spirit of God will effect this. As to the capacity of the people to comprehend christian doctrine, a brother writes: "They are all children in understanding, and can scarcely receive

the plainest truths, conveyed in the plainest words. It is frequently distressing, after explaining in the easiest language some part of the gospel of salvation, to see their eyes fixed upon you with a vacant stare, their answers proving that they have not understood a single sentence. Then we must begin afresh, and try to make ourselves understood, perhaps by the aid of a figure or a simile, and sometimes we succeed in that manner, so far as to leave a faint impression upon their memory." And again: "Great patience is requisite in dealing with them. They need precept upon precept, and line upon line. If there be one error committed more frequently by religious teachers than another, it is taking for granted, from their affirmations and apparent attention, that they understand the subject."

It is difficult for a man whose intellect has been exercised from his youth, to form a conception of the stupidity and inactivity of all the mental powers of those who have grown up under the system of slavery. Their intellect appears altogether dormant; their thoughts have never travelled beyond the narrow circle of their homes; and embrace no other objects but bodily wants. The slave was tutored *not* to think, but to work and dig the ground. The old African negroes distinguished themselves still more by their incapacity of understanding the plainest truths. Docile and obedient, they would do all they were told, and comply with all the forms of religion as they were taught; but for some of them to understand the very first principles of gospel truth, or even to comprehend any historical event, appeared almost impossible. In giving them instruction, the missionary required a perseverance, simplicity, and patience which only love to their souls could inspire. Owing to the heathenish darkness of their minds, these poor creatures were sometimes guilty of blasphemy, without appearing to

have the least idea of its awful tendency. One of the Brethren writes: "When I spoke to an old woman of our Saviour's love, as manifested by his death for the salvation of sinners, she shook her head and answered: 'No, no; to *you* we look! to *you* we look!' I shall never forget the horror which filled my heart, when an old African, whom I directed to pray to Jesus Christ, fell on his knees before me, exclaiming, "You are my God!" The horror and indignation with which I ordered him instantly to rise, appeared to teach more than anything I had before said."

Twenty years ago, instances of such ignorance and stupidity were much more numerous than in the present day, when, thanks be to God, owing to a long course of instruction, by means of numerous schools, and information derived from their connexion with believers, this gross ignorance has very much decreased, and is gradually disappearing. But even at that time, the missionaries had often the pleasure to see that nothing is impossible with God; and their journals contain edifying and cheering records of many poor Africans, who, enlightened by the spirit of God, had passed from death unto life; cleaving in their last moments, with simplicity and assurance of faith, to Christ their Saviour.

In the journals of the missionaries of that time, there is frequent reference to the difficulty of making those under instruction, understand the spirituality of the christian religion, and to their tendency continually to reduce religion to a mere form, ceremony, and outward reformation. This is a complaint common to all countries and to all ages, giving sad evidence of the inherent blindness and self-righteousness of man, and his natural disposition to reject the grace of God. It is therefore not to be wondered at if the sacraments, and especially holy baptism, was looked upon by the multitude not merely as a sign of inward grace, but as possessing a

virtue in itself equivalent to the forgiveness of sins and everlasting life. Even among the communicants, some have been discovered carrying home part of the bread they had received, to use it in sickness as a charm to cure them. A missionary writes on this subject, "There are many, and such clamorous applications for the rite of baptism, by those who are still in the grossest spiritual darkness, that we are sorely tried. While we cannot conscientiously comply with their wishes, until we see evidences of a work of grace in their hearts; we lament to say, this principle is sadly neglected elsewhere. A number of these applicants, to whom we refused this rite, until they could give some evidence of the grace of God, have gone to the parish church to be baptized, and now these poor creatures think they are christians, though they live just as they did before. Our prayer for them is, that they may be led to see that the commandments of the Lord are not a vain thing, but that the keeping of them is life, to all who know and love him." Frequently the honour and respectability connected with being a christian, induce them to request to be baptized, as one said when applying for this ordinance: "Massa, me go up and down the country, and people take me for *nobody!*" or some unintelligible notion would prompt them, as for instance, when a man on his death-bed said to the missionary: "Please do baptize me; I wish to die a christian sinner, and not a heathen sinner."

The increase of the churches during this time, and the desire to be baptized, the wish to be instructed, and the large attendance upon the means of grace, were not altogether the results of an awakening—a hunger and thirst after righteousness,—but were partly occasioned by outward circumstances, and the social changes in progress. Many never advanced further than a name and form, or an outward compliance with the moral law. But in all the congregations, there were a

goodly number in whom a vital and unmistakeable change of heart had taken place, and whose words and actions bore testimony to their having become new creatures in Christ Jesus."

It is a fact never yet satisfactorily explained, but one to which all the missionaries among the Negro race will testify; that sudden awakenings and striking conversions, accompanied by a deep conviction of sin, are scarcely ever known among them. In the whole course of my missionary labours for fifteen years in this island, I have only known three or four such conversions, and even then, the impressions though strong and powerful at the time, were not lasting. And yet, although these feelings, which often so strikingly manifest the operation of the Spirit of God, do not seem to be so deep and sudden, the fact of a real change of heart,—of their being born again, will not be denied by any one who is experienced in the ministry of the gospel.

It was not until the year 1835, that the marriages of slaves solemnized by ministers of the Brethren's Church, were declared to be legal. Until then, neither their masters nor the law of the land recognized these unions as binding. As has been already stated, the Moravian missionaries always required their converts, before they lived together as man and wife, to promise faithfulness, when they joined their hands with prayer and the blessing of the Lord on their marriage state. These marriages not being regarded as legal, several who had thus been united, appeared inclined to take advantage of this to gratify their sensual appetites, and form new alliances. However in 1835, the Brethren called upon all in their connexion who had been privately united, to have their marriages regularly legalized; and from that time, all marriages among our people were publicly solemnized. The importance of this step can scarcely be

fully realized by any one who has not witnessed the baneful influence of a slave code of laws.

In 1836, a general Synod of the Brethren's Church assembled in Herrnhut, in Germany, and Br. Jacob Zorn, superintendent of the Mission in Jamaica, was called by our board of elders to attend, to report the state of the mission and join in consultation for its future welfare. He left Jamaica in January 1836, and returned the following year.

Within the six years, from 1832 to 1838, no less than six separate mission stations had been established, and new congregations formed. The number of persons under the care of the Moravian Missionaries in Jamaica, at the close of 1837, was 9,913, showing an increase since 1831 of 4,800 persons. Of these, 2,100 were communicants.

Until 1834, only the children of free people could attend the day schools, but as with the beginning of the apprenticeship, the children of six years of age and under were declared free, it became on object with the Brethren to provide for their instruction. Assisted by a parliamentary grant for schools, and by "The Ladies' Association," for instructing the rising generation, several schools were built, and new schools opened; and at the close of 1837 twenty-five day schools were in operation, numbering 1,043 scholars, and ten Sunday schools, with 1,220 scholars, besides 483 who attended the evening schools, amounting in all to 2,746 scholars.

CHAPTER V.

1838—1854.

EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES—CHARACTER OF THE NEGROES—NEGRO SETTLEMENTS—PURCHASE OF MAIDSTONE—BETHABARA—NORMAL SCHOOL—EMIGRATION TO GUINEA—OBEAHISM AND MYALISM—DECEASE OF FOUR MISSIONARIES—VISITATION—DEPUTATION TO THE MOSQUITIA—THE CHOLERA—CHANGE IN THE OUTWARD CONDITION OF THE NEGROES—ESTABLISHMENT OF SCHOOLS—DIACONY STORES—STATISTICS.

The House of Assembly having resolved to shorten the period of apprenticeship two years, the first of August, 1838, was looked forward to with much anxiety and pleasure by all parties. On that day, the boon of civil liberty was to be fully bestowed upon the people of this land. At length the long-looked-for day—the glorious first of August, 1838—arrived, when slavery ceased for ever in this island, and the captive became free. Gratitude and joy filled every heart. The churches and chapels were far too small to receive the crowds of worshippers that flocked thither to praise and bless the Lord for all his mercies.

The following Narrative of the celebration of that day at Fairfield, is given by Br. Zorn.

"On the eve of the day of Emancipation, we had a well-attended meeting, in which, with penitent confession and earnest supplications, we sought pardon for all the transgressions of this people, and of our land generally, beseeching the

Father of mercies to blot out of the book of his remembrance the crying sins of Jamaica. During the night, parties of our people continued to arrive every two or three minutes, which kept up a continued hum of excitement and expectation in our premises, causing us to long for the coming dawn. Soon after four o'clock our chapel-bell gave notice that the expected day was at hand; and as soon as it was light, we assembled on the terrace behind the chapel, in the open air, and never shall I forget the sight. About 1,800 Negroes, clad in white, stood in ranks, in the greatest order and silence imaginable; such a sight I had never before witnessed in the open air. A deep solemnity, with a feeling indescribable, seemed to pervade the whole assembly. It is evident that all were anxious to testify their gratitude to God; to acknowledge that the wonder-working change was entirely of his mercy; and they were earnestly waiting to give him the glory due unto his name. The service was conducted with hymns of thanksgiving and praise, the reading of appropriate psalms, and a short discourse. Br. Prince and Br. Zorn, in the name of the whole assembly, on bended knees, under the canopy of heaven, returned humble thanks to the Giver of every good and perfect gift; and besought his future blessing on the island, and on all classes of its inhabitants. When we had concluded the service, our congratulations were received with affectionate responses; but no noise or exuberant demonstrations of joy disturbed the solemnity of this morning scene; a hum of deep feeling was all that was heard for some time after the meeting closed. At ten o'clock we assembled for the second service. About one thousand persons crowded the chapel and the school-room; and a still larger number was addressed by Br. Prince in the rear of the Refuge school-house. The minister endeavoured to impress upon the multitude the words: '*If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free*

indeed.' When allusion was made in the service to the advantages of mental and religious improvement which the Negroes now possess, the minister was agreeably interrupted by a buzz as if the whole multitude were moved with one consent to express the feelings bursting from an overflowing heart: '*Yes, Massa, thank God; we do thank the Lord for it; bless the Lord!*' It was evident that, while the Negroes felt the obligations they were under to their christian friends in Britain, they gratefully acknowledged that the hand of a gracious and merciful God had been manifested in this great change."

From this day a new ERA in the history of Jamaica begins. The laws of social life by which they had been regulated hitherto, were now uprooted and destroyed. A new foundation was to be laid, many existing usages and customs had to come to nought, the framework of society was unhinged; old institutions were now to be broken up and remodelled; balanced upon new principles, and an order of things to be established, in the working of society; with which the multitude in general had been hitherto wholly unacquainted. The question with many was, whether such a change could possibly be effected, without disorder and confusion, violence and bloodshed? The missionaries always affirmed, there need be no apprehension; that the good character of the Negroes was sufficient security, and predicted that they would prove themselves worthy of the confidence reposed in them. They were right. For though there were jarrings, heart-burnings, and agitations here and there, in no instance was any act of violence committed!

A few words on the general character of the Negroes of this island, may not be out of place here.

In attempting to delineate the character of the Negroes of Jamaica, it might be well to illustrate it from that of the Negroes of Guinea. As is well known, there is no land under

the sun where human life is so little valued, where blood flows so freely as there. It is very different here. From my long acquaintance with the Negroes of this island, I have every reason to believe that they are neither cruel nor vindictive. They have always appeared to me remarkably good natured, peaceable, and of a docile disposition. A striking feature in their character, is their patience in suffering; and their quiet submission in adversity of whatever kind. What would throw others into the deepest grief, they can bear with perfect equanimity, as a thing "that cannot be helped." No word of complaint, no murmuring, will escape them, even when laid, month after month, on a sick bed; or when they have lost their all; though agitated for a moment, they will in a short time become calm and fully resigned. This is equally the case whether the affliction comes from the hand of God or man. Their patience can only be surpassed by their good nature and willingness to forgive and forget. No one appears to meditate anything like revenge for past wrongs; nor do they hastily take fire at new insults and injuries. I have known many examples of this description, which have astonished me. I was once particularly struck with an illustration of this trait in the character of the Negroes, while preaching at one of our stations. A gentleman, who had never visited the house of God before, made his appearance: one of our members, a helper in the congregation, paid him the greatest attention, and did many little offices for him, his eyes beaming with joy and gladness. Why, I enquired, why do you do all this? what makes you so happy in your attention to this gentleman? "Have I not been the slave of this man?" he answered; "has he not punished me many times for going to church? and now to see him come himself, and sit down with me under the same roof!" In this way, all feelings of dislike or hatred—if he ever harboured any, which

I do not believe he did—were swallowed up in a joy resembling that of the angels of heaven over converted sinners.

However, good-natured and forgiving as the Negroes undoubtedly are, still they are deficient in those qualities which make a people strong and prosperous. There is a want of energy, of perseverance, of aspiration, which amounts justly to the charge of levity. Satisfied with their present acquisitions and condition, they prefer ease to toil,—a sufficiency of daily bread to hard-earned riches,—contentment of mind to any effort for distinction,—and even ignorance to any labour for mental attainments. This disposition, unless counteracted by necessity, or continually opposed by those in authority, if allowed to work out its legitimate consequence, tends to lower and degrade a people. To ease, selfishness soon joins itself, and selfishness is most destructive to society. I have known more than one instance of men refusing to plant fruit-trees, because they themselves were not likely to reap the fruit. And my endeavours to persuade the inhabitants of a village to undertake conjointly the performance of some work for the common good, very often proved partially or entirely a failure. On one occasion, I urged upon the people the necessity of making a road through the village, as the path was a complete bog; they were all to turn out on certain days, to do it. Some did so, but as others did not, they returned home again; and after several failures, it was found impossible to get the work done in this way. The next plan I proposed was, that every one, as far as his own land lay along the road, should put it in order. "Suppose," said one, "I should make a good road along my fence, *would not other people walk upon it?*" This argument of unblushing selfishness surpassed all my previous conceptions, and I gave up my endeavours to obtain a better road in despair. I often represented to the people the advantage they would find in joining to-

gether to build a large cistern for general use; but though they acknowledged the truth of my remarks, they would never unite to do it. It is only when the minister himself undertakes and superintends a work of this nature, that it is likely to meet with success.

As to the mental qualities of the Negroes, they are not so dull and unthinking as some would suppose them to be. There is a shrewdness and sagacity about them, which is unperceived by a visitor or superficial observer, on account of the deference and respect which they pay to the white man. But they are not slow in forming a pretty correct estimate of the man they have to deal with, and shaping their course accordingly. We must take into account, that, though there are in men of every nation, fundamental features of character, it is by circumstances the character is formed, and the original disposition may be overlaid and perverted so as to be scarcely recognizable. To this I would call especial attention, for I believe this is the case with the present generation of West India Negroes. Just those qualities in man which ennoble him, slavery opposed and uprooted. The slave hates toil and exertion, because he is not to reap the fruit of his labours. What can he care for distinction or knowledge, which would only cause him to be more hated, suspected, and persecuted? Even riches lose their attraction, for the slave is not allowed to display them. Slavery takes away every incentive to all higher pursuits; and what wonder, if, at last, a care-for-nothing levity overshadows and degrades the whole man. On the other hand, this demoralizing system, by uprooting and destroying what is good, or may be employed for good, fosters all that is evil. Intellect and sagacity, of which the Negro has a good share, are employed for the lowest purposes, until all that is naturally good in the man degenerates into low cunning, prevarication, dupli-

city, hypocrisy, deceit and concealment. To deceive the overseer was his daily study. Even his religious exercises had to be covered with deceit: in poor clothes, with hoe and bill in hand, the Negro would take the road to his garden in the sight of the overseer, to make him believe that he was going to work; and when once in the bush, he would change his clothes, and be off to church. "Yes, Massa," was the slave's answer to every question and command; and almost invariably, he obliged you to repeat what you had said, that he might have time to frame his answer, if a longer one was required. I remember having once clearly convicted an old Negro of denying the truth and telling a lie; but when I asked him how he dared do so? his answer was, "Massa cannot expect that I should put the rope about my own neck."

Many sad and vexatious experiences of Negro deceit and lying are made by the missionaries, which have often been laid to the charge of his real character; but I cannot believe that this is the fact. I take these deviations from his natural character, to be the effect of slave education. It is not at all uncommon to hear a man solemnly affirm that he has not a penny, while he has a check in his pocket for twenty pounds; and in most cases, it would be a vain endeavour to convince him that he had told a falsehood; because he had satisfied his conscience with the fact that he really had no penny.

Though there is still the old slave population, it must be evident to all who have laboured long among them, that there is a decided improvement. And why may we not hope, yea confidently predict, that the farther they are removed from slavery, (when this and the coming generation will have passed away,) that these consequences will disappear also. And as inducements are now held out by honest industry to acquire temporal, mental, and spiritual treasures, there is good reason to believe that the Negro will gradually rise in

the scale of society. He has a good-natured disposition and an affectionate attachment to those by whom he is surrounded, which will make him amiable; along with these he has talent which requires only to be cultivated and rightly directed to cause him to be respected. Though not inventive, he is very imitative, and capable of acquiring skill in trade; though not enterprising, he is well able to endure the ills of life; and though the general disposition and talents of the race are not calculated, as far as we can see, to give them great pre-eminence, they may, and will, no doubt, become a very different and superior people, in comparison of the poor, despised, and degraded slaves they once were. As it is, they still bear, and will bear for another generation, the marks and scars which that system inflicted upon them.

At the time when liberty was proclaimed, the character which slavery had impressed upon the people was in its full strength, and they were judged by many accordingly. "They are naturally," so said the planters, "the most indolent people; all day long they will bask in the sun in listless idleness." And some, in the prospect of emancipation, judging very likely from their own feelings, were afraid to rely on the good nature and forgiving disposition of the people. The Negroes on the other hand, were overjoyed; and though they had reason to look with distrust and suspicion upon their former masters, it would have been well for the planters if they had not raised obstacles to prevent them from remaining as tenants on their plantations. But in general, this was not permitted. In most cases, the people were charged such exorbitant rents for their houses and gardens, that they took the first opportunity to purchase land for themselves, and leave the estate: so that within a few years after emancipation, whole villages had entirely disappeared, and new ones sprung up in other places, where dense woods had before covered the

ground. The planters complained bitterly of the loss of their labourers; but in too many instances, they had only themselves to blame.

Hitherto the slave had no occasion to exercise forethought; he had no need to provide for his daily wants; his house, his raiment, part of his food, and medical attendance, all had been provided for him. Now suddenly he had to care for himself. By emancipation, he was introduced into a situation altogether new, and often very perplexing to his narrow mind. These circumstances tended to become thorns and briars to choke the good seed of the word—to make him forget God, and become worldly-minded; on the other hand, the position in which he was now placed, attached him more closely to the church and to the missionary. To him he turned therefore, with all his trouble, and by him was willingly assisted. Frequently and earnestly was he warned not to allow temporal concerns to encroach upon his religious duties, but rather to let them be an incitement to more earnest prayer and faith in the Lord.

Our Brethren frequently consulted on the expediency of establishing Moravian settlements, or place congregations, as in Europe, and at the Cape of Good Hope, and some attempts were made to accomplish this. An estate—a coffee plantation, called Maidstone, close to Nazareth—was purchased; where a school-house, that served likewise as a chapel, had been built; but the ground being rocky and uneven, did not allow the formation of a settlement in regular streets and squares, but the land was parcelled out and sold to the Negroes, who soon built a large, but irregular village. In 1848 the school-house at Nazareth was removed to Maidstone, and transformed into a regular chapel, though still used as a school-room. At Beaufort, likewise, the Brethren purchased some hundred acres of land, which were sold again in small

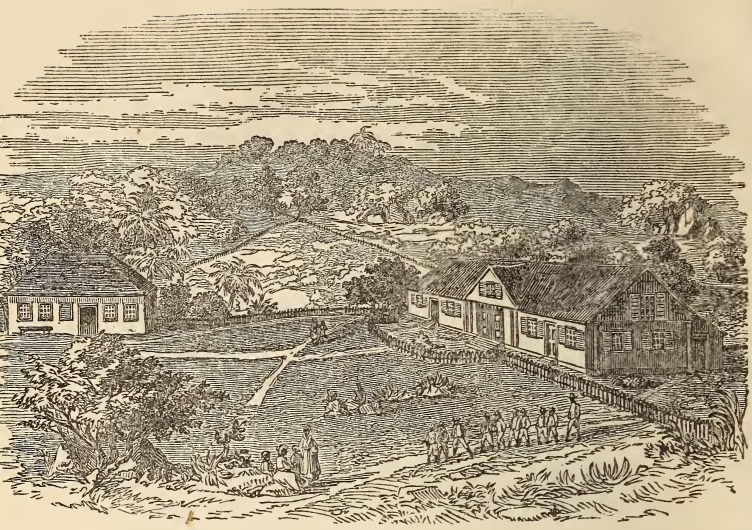
lots to the people. These attempts have not been successful, and the Brethren have often regretted that they ever entered upon such a plan. Many unprincipled persons got possession of the ground, and proved troublesome neighbours; and even when, in the first instance, pious persons settled upon the land, it frequently passed into bad hands after their departure, so that these villages are now inhabited by various characters, some good, others very indifferent. It is a strange fact, one which has not been observed here only, that those who live nearest to the house of God, are frequently the most lukewarm, the most careless, and slothful in every good work, and generally the last in their attendance on the means of grace. While the candle lights up the room, it is dark round the candlestick. It was so of old, they who had the manna from heaven most abundantly, were those who murmured against God, and exclaimed, "our soul loatheth this light bread."

Since the Brethren came to Fairfield in 1823, they had preached the gospel at Isle, a coffee plantation, ten miles distant in the Carpenter mountains. A large congregation had been gathered there, and they were urgent in their requests to have a chapel built. It has always been the plan of the Moravian missionaries, to preach the gospel to those who are most neglected, and a principle with them never to encroach upon the labours of others. When this place, (afterwards called *Bethabara*,) was built, this principle appeared to forbid the establishment of a mission station. Within three miles on each side a government church had been erected, and there appeared no decided necessity for another chapel to be erected by the Brethren. They were not forgetful of their principles, and the question whether they should give a favourable answer to the application of the people was well considered; the plea they urged was, that the Brethren had preached the gospel to them long before

those churches were built;—that they had been established as a Moravian congregation for many years past; and that to forsake them, and force them to join themselves to a church to which they had several not unfounded objections, was cruel and unfeeling. Under these circumstances, the Brethren came to the conclusion, that the building of a mission station at this place did not involve a breach of their principles; and consequently, on the 16th of January, 1840, the foundation stone of a new church was laid, which was finished and solemnly opened on the 28th of July, 1841.

By the large expenses attending the building of several stations, during the last few years, a debt of seven thousand pounds had been contracted. Though repeated applications for new stations were made at this time, and openings for the spread of the gospel presented themselves, the Brethren felt it their duty to refrain from any undertaking that would occasion an increase of the debt resting on the Mission Diacony. A strong effort was made to liquidate this debt, in which the missionaries and their congregations joined most heartily. Of their poverty they (the missionaries,) contributed fifty pounds; and the extra collections in the different congregations of Jamaica amounted to £450. The collections in England and on the continent were equally liberal, and before long the Brethren had the satisfaction to see this debt discharged.

Next to the preaching of the gospel, the education of the rising generation is of the greatest importance. As has already been stated, in 1826, the Brethren began to establish schools for the children of free people; from that time, the number of schools continued to increase, and from 1836 to 1843, no fewer than thirteen school-houses were built, and attended by crowds of children. The chief difficulty was, how



THE MORAVIAN TRAINING SCHOOL

AT FAIRFIELD, IN THE PARISH OF MANCHESTER, JAMAICA.

The School-House was erected in course of the year 1852. It contains two School-Rooms, each 22 feet by 16, two Dressing-Rooms, two Teachers' Rooms, a Dining-Hall, and a Dormitory. Large windows with galleries, afford abundance of light and air. The whole building is 68 feet by 32.

The above Sketch affords a pretty correct idea of the situation of the School. The building forms a part of the Mission premises at Fairfield, and occupies an elevated position near the crest of the May-Day Mountains, whose height is estimated at 3000 feet. The ground is very uneven, masses of limestone protruding at intervals, and interspersed with trees and bushes of various kinds. The centre of the building contains the Dining-Hall with the Teachers' and Under-Teachers' Apartments. To the right, is the School and Dwelling-Room of the Elder Class of Pupils; to the left, that of the Younger Class. In the roof, are the Dormitories. In the plot of ground adjoining the School-House, within the fence, are interred the remains of several Missionaries who departed at Fairfield. The building on the left, is the house formerly occupied by the Training School.

to supply these schools with properly-qualified teachers. Three of the principal schools were kept by young Brethren from England, and others by young women educated in the Female Refuge School, but the greater number by teachers who, though of good character, and able to read and write, were otherwise very deficient in knowledge. The necessity of a higher school for the education of teachers became more and more apparent. The first attempt towards the attainment of this object was made by Br. Zorn in 1839. He took three young men into his service, who studied under him for three hours every day, and employed the remainder of their time in earning their bread by the labour of their hands. These scholars were afterwards sent to the Mico Institution, in Kingston, to complete their studies, and have, since that time, faithfully and efficiently served as teachers in several schools.

In 1840, it was resolved to establish a Normal School at Fairfield; and Br. Holland, from America, arrived to take charge of it. Ten young lads, from thirteen to fourteen years of age were selected and placed under his instruction; and in 1844 a house was built for their accommodation, and their number increased to twelve. In this Institution, the scholars remained from four to six years. The education they received was solid but plain, confined to the common branches, as arithmetic, grammar, geography, and composition; languages and mathematics were not taught; Bible studies were diligently attended to; and at the present time, fifteen young men, educated in this Institution, are employed as teachers in our schools.

The importance of such an Institution in a mission of long standing is obvious. A mission must in time lose that character. When, by the preaching of the gospel, churches have been established, they should, as soon as possible, be pre-

sided over by men of their own nation and colour; and for this purpose, higher schools and theological institutions are absolutely necessary. The establishment of the Normal School at Fairfield was a principal step towards this object, but only a step; and it soon became apparent that this Institution required a further developement. The scholars entering at the age of thirteen or fourteen years, had barely learned to read, and much time was lost in giving instructions in mere elementary knowledge. Low habits and manners had become so confirmed in these young persons, before they entered the school, that it was resolved to receive them into the Institution at an earlier age: and twelve scholars being found insufficient to supply the vacancies in our elementary schools, it was thought desirable to increase the number to twenty-four; and as they advanced, to extend the course of instruction, and train them in some of the higher branches of knowledge.

In 1852, the Brethren received unexpectedly an offer from the Trustees of Taylor's Charity, to assist them to increase the usefulness of the Training School. This charity was the legacy of a gentleman who died about twenty years ago, and left a capital, the interest of which was to be devoted to edutional purposes in Jamaica. The trustees offered £300 for the building of a new school-house, and a grant of £200 annually, for several years, upon condition that the number of scholars should be increased to twenty-four. This grant, therefore, does not lessen the expenses of the school, which are about £200 a year, independent of Taylor's Charity. The Brethren gladly accepted the offer, and regarded it as an answer to their prayers, and a token of the Lord's favour. In the same year, 1852, a new Normal or Training School house was built, the dimensions of which were sixty-eight by thirty-two feet, comprising two large airy school-rooms, a dining-hall, a dor-

mitory, and two teachers' rooms. The house is surrounded by a flower and vegetable garden, cultivated by the scholars, who are employed an hour every morning and evening in manual labour. In March 1853, this school was solemnly opened with twenty-four scholars. Two European brethren are engaged in it as teachers, assisted by two coloured teachers, who attend to a day-school of one hundred children at the same place, and superintend the scholars of the Normal school during free hours and preparation time. The branches taught at present are: Christian doctrine, sacred and profane history, arithmetic, grammar, geography, composition, music, singing and playing the piano and organ. As the scholars advance, other studies may be added. This school has hitherto proceeded satisfactorily; the scholars have made good progress, and a number of them hold out very encouraging prospects of future usefulness. It will, however, be five or six years before we shall reap the fruit of our labours in this department, as the scholars who entered only last year will remain for six or eight years under our care. The avowed object of this Institution is, to train teachers for our numerous schools; we hope, however, that among these some may be found in the course of time, whose acquirements and personal character shall qualify them, through the grace of God, for the higher office of preaching the gospel.

Our experience during a long course of years enables us to form an opinion as to the mental capabilities of the Negro race. It has been affirmed that they are every way inferior to the white people; that their intellect is capable of cultivation only to a certain extent, and that then it becomes stationary. We cannot altogether agree to this. There is among them as great a diversity of talent and intellect as is to be met with elsewhere, and certainly not a few might be found who would fully confirm this opinion; but still, as a whole, while we do

not believe that they are as yet capable of the highest degree of cultivation, there can be no doubt that, in powers of memory, the black children surpass those of the white people. It astonishes our teachers, who have been for years engaged in schools at home, to see with what facility they commit to memory page after page, and how they excel in those studies in which the memory chiefly is exercised. But as to intellect, they certainly do not appear equal to the children of the whites. In all those cases that call for the exercise of thought and invention, there is a marked deficiency. It may still be a question whether this dulness is peculiar to the Negro race, or whether it is to be attributed to the sleepy manner in which the children are brought up by their parents. That the black man is capable of a high degree of culture has often been proved, and there are in our days, some striking instances of this. Whether from this training-school, which appears already to encourage our hopes, some shall go forth into the vineyard of the Lord, remains yet to be seen. Seminaries like these are certainly the hope of the West Indies. If ever the black man shall rise, there must be men of his own colour to take the lead; and it is from such institutions they must come forth. If in these establishments, the aim be not only to impart knowledge, but also to promote godliness; to guide the students to the knowledge of themselves and the knowledge of Christ, and they come forth having experienced the grace of God in their own hearts, being born again, we may confidently predict great and lasting benefits to arise as the result. Those now under training may, in the course of time, not only take the place of the European teacher and missionary in the West Indies, but they may also go forth as missionaries to preach the gospel to their countrymen in Africa.

The plan of sending missionaries from the West Indies to

Africa, was much spoken of at the time the English Government sent out the Niger expedition in 1840. An attempt was made to carry it out in 1841, when Messrs. Reiss and Wiedeman, two missionaries of the Mission Society at Basle, arrived in Jamaica and proposed to take a number of converted Negroes, as emigrants and assistants to the missionaries at Akrapong, near Coast Castle, Guinea, where the former had already laboured eight years. Recommended by the Elders of our Church, they met both with support and encouragement from the Brethren here; who, in all their congregations, called upon those who were willing and were approved of by the church, to come forward and offer their services. From among those who volunteered to set out upon this novel and exciting enterprise, six married couples, and some single persons, were chosen; who, soon after, left the shores of Jamaica and arrived safely at the place of their destination. They were promised a free passage back to Jamaica after five years residence in Africa, should they prefer to return; but of all that left only one couple returned in 1849; the rest chose to remain. This was certainly an experiment of no common interest to all the friends of missions. The expediency of the undertaking was doubted by many: "Could the emigrants," it was asked, "withstand the evil influences with which they would be surrounded in the midst of a heathen population? Were they sufficiently established in the faith to be proof against African superstition, which they had themselves believed in before their conversion? And would they whose characters had been moulded in slavery be able to exercise any influence upon a free independent people?" In answer to these questions, it may be said, the hopes of the Basle Society were partly realized; the mission in Akrapong was in some degree benefited by these endeavours to convince the natives of the folly of their heathenish customs, and to lead

them in some measure to forsake them; still the good that was expected to result from their labours was not fully attained. Two or three of these emigrants did not continue in the grace of God, and proved unworthy of the confidence which had been placed in them.

In the year 1842, African superstition and fanaticism made a strong effort to gain once more the ascendancy over the minds of many; especially in the northern parts of the island. Around our congregations at Irwin-Hill, where I was stationed at the time, the infatuation was so great, and the temptation so strong, that a satanic agency, an effort of the prince of darkness to keep the captives in his chains, could not be mistaken. The common superstition of the Negro, is the belief in Obeah or sorcery; some persons, mostly old Africans, were always found, who pretended to be adepts in these mysteries, and who were largely paid for practising Obeah. Their manner was, to bury, at the gate or in the residence of the person who was to be dealt with, a box or cloth, containing earth from a grave, feathers of a fowl, and other articles, which in their belief would produce sickness and death, or an entire change of mind. The object was frequently obtained with the credulous and superstitious. An indescribable fear came over them when they believed themselves under the influence of supernatural powers. I have myself known persons who, under this fear, sickened and died, and some who even committed suicide. The law of the land inflicted upon the Obeah men, the heaviest penalty, in former days even death and banishment. Though the practisers of Obeahism were greatly feared by the superstitious, they were always looked upon as very wicked people. Another class of sorcerers were the Myalmen. These pretended to have still greater powers, and were accounted good and holy. They pretended to be able to make Obeahism of no effect;

that they could discover and destroy it; and maintained that they were sent by God to purge the world from all wickedness; and that they had received power to procure rest for the wandering spirits, or shadows as they were called. These laid claim to an immediate intercourse with God, and divine revelations.

In 1842, several Negroes on an estate near Montego Bay gave themselves out to be such Myalmen, and began to practice their heathenish rites openly and boldly. In an incredibly short time, this superstition spread through the whole parish of St. James, and the neighbouring parishes of Westmoreland and Trelawny; hundreds and thousands laid claim to the same distinction, or became the followers of these men. As soon as the darkness of evening set in, they assembled in crowds in open pastures, most frequently under large cotton trees, which they worshipped, and counted holy; after sacrificing some fowls, the leader began an extempore song, in a wild strain, which was answered in chorus; the dance followed, grew wilder and wilder, until they were in a state of excitement bordering on madness.

Some would perform incredible evolutions while in this state, until, utterly exhausted, they fell senseless to the ground, when every word they uttered was received as a divine revelation. At other times, Obeah was to be discovered, or a "shadow" was to be caught; a little coffin being prepared, in which it was to be inclosed and buried. The influence these heathenish practices had upon their votaries was truly deplorable; it was questionable, whether they had not really lost their senses altogether; their very features changed, so that it was difficult to recognize them again; they became haggard and distorted, and their eyes wild and glaring. A handkerchief tied in a fantastical manner round the head, and another as tightly as possible round the waist,

distinguished them. Not only at night, but even during the day, I have seen them sitting in hollow trees, singing their songs, or running along the road with outstretched arms as fast as their feet could carry them, which they called flying. On one occasion, they entered a chapel in a body, interrupting divine worship; and on another, a number of them came one Sunday to Irwin-hill while I was preaching, and were only intimidated by the presence of six policemen, who regularly attended, and took their station at the doors. The authorities found it necessary to take steps to preserve peace and public tranquillity; several hundred special constables were sworn in, and numbers of these people, who by their howlings and noises disturbed the peaceable inhabitants, were confined in jail for several weeks, as many as a hundred at once.

The revival of heathenism proved a trial and temptation to our converts. Once they had been firm believers in these superstitions and blasphemies. They had denied them and turned to the living and true God; now they were again brought before them in all their strength; and they were invited to return as a dog to his vomit, and a sow to her wallowing in the mire. Many were not a little startled, some wavered, and would not at once bear testimony against the lie; but this did not last long, they soon recovered from their surprise, and actively opposed this wickedness. Of our congregation at Irwin-Hill consisting of several hundred members only three gave themselves up to this delusion. Among them was a young man who took the lead in all wickedness, and whose mind became quite disordered. He was confined in jail for three weeks, and the very day he was set at liberty, I saw him returning home dancing and shouting like a madman. He was not yet sobered. On one occasion, hearing that I had warned others not to keep company with him,

he came to justify himself; while speaking to him I saw that every muscle in his body was affected, and that he laboured under a fearful excitement. "Let me go," he called out, "the spirit comes upon me, and I don't know what I may do!"

This excitement could not last long; though it continued for more than six months, it gradually subsided; and a year after scarcely anything was heard of it. Two of our members who had joined these Myal dancers returned, asked pardon, and wished to be readmitted; which they were allowed to hope for, upon condition that they would make full and open confession. Their version of the matter was, that having gone one evening to witness the dance they were offered rum to drink, in which it was affirmed a strong narcotic root had been steeped, that refusing to take it, it had been poured upon their head and face, and they soon became excited; and as they said could not help themselves. It was only after a long time of probation and repeated application, that we could consent to readmit them as members of the church.

The practices of Obeah and Myalism, formerly so common, become less and less frequent, though to this day they are still followed, and have not lost their power and influence over the minds of those who take part in them. Again and again we have to use all our authority and influence against these devices of the wicked one. Nothing so entirely perverts the mind of man; they uproot christian faith, destroy every sound principle, and being foolish and absurd in the extreme, they ruin at once both soul and body. There is no sin against which a missionary, who knows the consequences, should be more watchful to guard his people. It might prove the ruin of a congregation if not exposed and offenders brought under the strictest exercise of church discipline, as soon as anything tending towards such wickedness makes its appearance. The same fanaticism has shown itself

also in our congregations at Nazareth and Bethany as late as 1849 and 1852, though in a somewhat different form. Inflated with pride, some gave themselves out to be prophets, inspired by the Spirit of God, and began to preach; but there were the same immoral practices, the same dances, always connected with it, which stamped it as the same heathenish superstition, decorated with some christian doctrines applied to blasphemous purposes. Offenders of this kind, after having been spoken with and entreated not to grieve the Spirit of God, are, if they persist in their infatuation, publicly excluded from all church privileges, and not re-admitted, until humbly, before the whole congregation, they confess their sin and error, and beg to be pardoned; and then they are again admitted, only upon trial. "From the murdering spirit and devices of Satan;—*Preserve us, gracious Lord and God.*"

The year 1843 was a time of severe trial for the mission in Jamaica. Not less than four missionaries, the brethren Oates, Zorn, Davies, and Blandford, departed this life in the course of the year; all devoted and earnest men, who, humanly speaking, could ill be spared at a time when new congregations were forming, and the calls for instruction and help were so urgent. The loss of Br. Jacob Zorn, who for nine years had held the office of superintendent of the mission, was particularly felt. He was a man eminently fitted for his station and office. Humble and unpretending, he was endowed with uncommon talents; his sound judgment always directing him in the right course, and his love and affection gaining for him the confidence and esteem of all his brethren. He departed this life at Bethlehem, but his body was removed to Fairfield, where he had requested to be interred in the midst of his former congregation. By the loss of so many missionaries, the brethren found themselves hindered on every hand; they saw "the fields ripe for harvest, but the

labourers were few." Those that remained however exerted themselves to the utmost, and had the pleasure of seeing several brethren arrive at the close of the year to fill up their thinned ranks.

In 1847, Brother Herman, member of the Directing Board of the mission, and Brother William Mallalieu, treasurer of the Mission, arrived in Jamaica as a deputation from the Unity's Elders' Conference, being commissioned by them to hold a visitation of our churches in this island. After a preparatory conference with all the missionary brethren at Fairfield, they visited the different stations, and examined minutely into the state of our churches and schools, much to the encouragement of the Brethren and the edification of the congregations. On their return, they were again met by all the missionaries at a general conference in Fairfield, which lasted three days; and after a sojourn of three months, they proceeded on their way. This visit led to the establishment of Springfield, as a separate station, which had been for several years an out station, attended to by the minister at Fulnec. The same year, 1847, a brother removed to this locality; and the church which had been for some time in the course of erection was soon finished, and solemnly opened for the service of God. This is the last congregation of the Brethren that has been established in Jamaica.

A change in the management of the mission took place at the same time. Hitherto the missionaries had met every eight weeks, at one of the central stations, when all changes, every new proposal, and all the concerns of the mission, were deliberated upon and decided by them, every brother having an equal voice and vote. According to a decision of the Unity's Elders' Conference, the deputies nominated four brethren besides the superintendent, and to these the principal care of the mission was entrusted, and with them the ap-

pointment of the missionaries to the different stations was to rest in future. This board, called the Helpers' Conference, meets every eight weeks, and the General Conference, at which all the brethren of the mission meet, and before whom all the concerns of the mission in general are laid, assembles every four weeks. The merits and demerits of this regulation have been frequently discussed, and an appeal made to our Elders to annul it, but as this is the mode of proceeding established throughout our church, and in all the more extended missions they did not feel themselves at liberty to accede to the request.

The same year, 1847, two brethren, H. G. Pfeiffer and A. Reinke, went from Jamaica to Bluefields, in Musquitia, Central America, to enquire into the practicability of establishing a mission among the Indians. This deputation left in May, and returned at the close of the year. In 1849, Brother Pfeiffer, accompanied by two single brethren, proceeded to that country to open a new mission.

In 1850 and 1851, Jamaica was visited by a fearful calamity. The cholera spread through the land, and above twenty thousand people were, within a few months, brought to the grave by this disease! The parish of Manchester, in which four of our largest congregations are situated, was the only part of the island that escaped this awful visitation. In Westmoreland and St. Elizabeth parishes, our congregations suffered but little in comparison, not more than about sixty having died of this disease. But at Irwin-Hill the pestilence raged with fearful violence. Of our members alone, one hundred and forty were cut off. The distress occasioned by this visitation was heart-rending. The scenes of suffering, destitution, and misery that presented themselves on every hand were appalling. Br. Lichtenthaler, who was stationed at Irwin-Hill, fearlessly exposed himself to the infection, and

visited the sick, administered to their wants, and directed them to the Saviour of sinners. While some, who had neglected to seek their soul's salvation, died without peace or comfort, our brother had the pleasure to witness, in many of the converts, evidences of a living faith; some, having hope, trusted in the merits and death of Jesus for the remission of their sins; and others, triumphing in the full assurance of everlasting life, departed praising and blessing God for all his mercies. In all our congregations, the conduct of the members, towards those who were attacked by the disease, deserves the highest praise. Not one sick or dying person was forsaken, all were cared for, without regard to the infection and danger. At New-Hope, where thirty persons died, one young man, (others being afraid to assist in burying the dead,) digged all the graves, and carried the bodies to their resting place, and yet escaped the disease. Whatever has been said, or may be said, of the cowardice and want of feeling shown in some parts of the country, our congregations distinguished themselves by the care which they took of the sufferers, following the dictates of christian charity, and forgetting self in their labour of love.

The danger in which our people were placed at that time, induced them and others who had hitherto been careless, to seek the Lord more earnestly for the salvation of their souls. Throughout this season, the churches could not contain the crowds which assembled to humble themselves before the Lord, and to sue for mercy. The dissolute and careless were arrested for a time, the rum-shops were unvisited, and the fiddle and the drum were not heard. However, as in all such cases, when the danger was past, forgetfulness and carelessness took the place of what had been but a partial reform; though individual cases were not wanting to prove that the time had been well employed to produce the fruits of genuine repentance;

instances might also be given of utter recklessness and hard ness of heart. On one estate, when the cholera was almost in every house, a man called the people to a dance; while beating the drum he was taken ill, and the next morning he and his drum were buried together.

The social condition of the people has greatly changed since 1838. Before that time, they had lived together on the plantations, generally in poor wretched huts, which they were too careless to keep in repair, as they were not their own property; but now, with few exceptions, every one lives in his own house, and on his own acre of ground. The land round the churches has been eagerly purchased and largely paid for, and villages have sprung up here and there. The houses which they have erected are at least equal to those which they inhabited before emancipation, and generally superior. An improvement in dress is likewise become apparent. Many had the means, and were able, at the time of their liberation, to purchase land and build houses; for they had, even as slaves, opportunities for saving money from the produce of their provision grounds, and by other means; though they took care not to display their riches. These stores were, however, soon exhausted, and they have now to depend upon their land and the labour of their hands for their support. It could not be otherwise, but that the new condition in which they found themselves would exercise a decided influence upon their character. The minds of some became entirely engrossed by the things of this world; covetousness and selfishness laid fast hold upon them; others became dissipated and vile; but of the majority of our members, it might be said, that they continued steadfast in the faith of the gospel. Gradually the submission and servility of the slave began to give way to a feeling of independence. His character, as well as his outward circumstances, became changed.

When the heart is given to the Lord, a feeling of personal

responsibility, independence, and self-respect, is highly favourable to the cause of Christ; being redeemed from all iniquity, these feelings, combined with love to the Saviour, will make his people zealous of good works; but where they are not hallowed by faith, independence leads men into pride and evil lusts, which soon become apparent. While the faithful members of the church became more decided and active, the worldly-minded did not suffer themselves to be restrained any longer. For some considerable time before the year 1838, and for some time after, the influence and authority of the missionaries were so paramount, that worldly amusements were almost entirely suppressed; there was no dancing, no revellings and the like, as formerly; but now the influence of the missionaries over those who were not members of the church was insufficient to suppress these evils: they increased more and more. As the shops for the sale of spirituous liquors multiplied, the missionaries were led to complain bitterly of the increase ungodliness and sinful pursuits. Some of their members were entangled in the snares of the wicked one. The young people were restrained with difficulty, when temptations to merriment were set before them; and those who were not under any control of church rule, became more bold and hardened in iniquity. Under these circumstances, it could scarcely be otherwise, but that a falling away of many would take place. Those who had joined the church from worldly considerations, and a desire to be thought respectable, as the times changed, would of course change likewise. Such temptations must come, they are necessary to make apparent who are sincere and who are not; they serve to separate the chaff from the wheat. Under these circumstances, therefore, it need be no cause of surprise if the church members, who had been most numerous in 1845, have decreased some hundreds, and may still, for some time, continue to decrease.*

* See the Note, page 152.

The mission of the United Brethren in Jamaica numbers more stations, and more members, than any other of the three missions; but it is likewise the most expensive. Including building and school accounts, the cost is about £4000 a year. But if it be taken into consideration that the outlay, for school purposes alone, is about £1400; that several hundred pounds are spent every year in repairs and the erection of buildings; and that there are sixteen married missionaries in the island; the expenses will be found very moderate indeed.

Since 1839, the contributions of our congregations here have amounted to about £1200 per annum; the deficiency has hitherto been defrayed by collections, in aid of our missions, in the British Isles and on the Continent of Europe. In 1848, when political commotion in Europe made it very doubtful whether the interest in missionary work would be equally lively as heretofore, and whether the amount necessary to support the mission upon its present footing could be raised; and when, at the same time, the prostration of trade and agriculture, and consequent poverty in the island, threatened considerably to reduce our receipts from the congregations here; it became a question whether the number of missionaries should be decreased, stations given up, and schools closed, to lessen the expenses; or whether the brethren should endeavour to devise some other means for the support of the gospel in this island.

It has been the endeavour of the Moravian missionaries, from the beginning, to support themselves as much as possible by the labour of their hands; and it is generally believed that by doing so they confer a benefit on the people, as they profit by the example, as well as by the trades and manufactures which are thus established among them. To this day the Esquimaux are largely benefitted by the trade which the Brethren have opened with them; while, at the same time, the missionaries thereby nearly support themselves. Likewise at the

Cape of Good Hope, and at Surinam, a similar plan is pursued. The Brethren in Jamaica therefore determined to do what they could rather than hinder the progress of the gospel, reduce the missionaries, or curtail their labours.

In the hope of earning something towards meeting the expenses of the mission, the Brethren opened three stores, (superintended by themselves, assisted by clerks) in different stations, for the sale of dry goods. Their intention was to request the assistance of brethren who were merchants, to come out here and take charge of them, as soon as they were sufficiently established. Br. Spence, warden of the mission, actively and faithfully endeavoured to carry out those plans; but it pleased the Lord to call him home to himself in September 1852, before he had been able to arrange everything; and after his decease, other circumstances prevented the execution of his designs. The consequence was, that this attempt, though not altogether abandoned, has been so retrenched, that the assistance which the mission is likely to derive from it is very trifling; therefore the brethren feel the more thankful that their anticipations of a diminished income have not been realized.

It cannot be denied, that such an undertaking as that of missionaries entering upon trade, is open to many objections, and might prove detrimental to the cause of Christ. As a rule, we certainly should not support it. In this instance, the missionaries appear to have had but the choice of two evils, either to attempt something in this way, or to curtail their labours. And if it be taken into account, that no personal profit whatever was connected with this undertaking; but that, on the contrary, it was attended with much labour and responsibility, their willingness to take such a burden upon themselves deserves respect and commendation rather than censure.

Though numbers of our members lived at a considerable distance from the church, many from five to ten miles off, still

they continued to attend the house of God regularly on the Sabbath-day; but their children were sadly neglected; they were at such a distance, it was impossible for them to come to the schools at the stations. The day-schools, and a few out station schools, though well attended, scarcely numbered a third part of the young people committed to the care of the brethren. It was therefore grievous to the missionaries to see the children of their own church members, and many others, growing up in ignorance, without any instruction; such circumstances made the prospect for the future very discouraging. At that time a pious lady, Mrs. S. of H., who took the liveliest interest in the education of the rising generation, had not only established several schools, under her own superintendence, but had also represented the neglected state of the children to a gentleman in London who was actively engaged in the spread of the gospel. This led to particular enquiries; the reports of the missionaries confirmed the statements which had been made, and further assistance towards out-station schools, was readily granted by the "London Association in aid of the Moravian Missions." The result was that, since 1840, thirty out-station schools have been established, increasing the number to *forty-six*. These schools are well attended; and instead of diminishing the number of scholars in our stations, they contribute, by the interest which they create in the minds of the parents, greatly to increase it. At the present time, the number of children in our station schools is 1565, and in the out-station schools 1375, in all 2940. The blessing of the Lord has rested upon these institutions hitherto, and the success that has followed the labours of the Brethren in this department, calls for praise and gratitude. There is a marked improvement perceptible in the conduct of the children, and the parents have likewise been benefitted. In several places, the people themselves have built a school-

house, or offered a house, or rented a building for the purpose; and in every instance, the Brethren have succeeded in finding a locality without any, or but a small outlay of money. Several of the larger schools, numbering from fifty to one hundred scholars, are kept by teachers educated in our Normal school; those numbering below forty children are mostly kept by young women, who possess sufficient knowledge to conduct an infant school, and whose moral and religious character qualify them for the office. The teachers meet occasionally in conference to communicate their experience, receive advice, and encourage one another. Reading, writing, arithmetic, bible-history, religious instruction, and in some cases grammar and geography, are taught in these schools. They are free to all the poor, or those who are unwilling to pay; but those of good principle, who have the means, willingly pay for the education of their children. In this way we have now the satisfaction of knowing that provision is made for the instruction of all the children under our care, and the pleasure of seeing that they gladly avail themselves of this privilege. It has frequently been asserted that the Negroes are indifferent, and do not care to have their children taught; but our experience enables us to refute this assertion, and maintain the contrary. Wherever a teacher enjoys the confidence of the congregation, and the minister takes an interest in the school, it is well attended, and the school fees are in general regularly paid. Much however remains yet to be done, to perfect our plans, and make these institutions what we wish them to be; the poor miserable sheds and houses in which many of them are kept, ought to be superseded as soon as possible by more substantial buildings; and placed under the care of well-educated and efficient teachers. As it is, much has been done; this may be easily seen from the fact that nearly half the number of children in

attendance, viz. 1434 young persons are able to read the scriptures.

These are the principal events in the history of our mission since the memorable "*First of August*, 1838." Now, after sixteen years' experience, when the excitement which at first attended the liberation of the slaves has long passed away, and the changes to which it gave birth, though still progressing, have lost much of their interest, and the preaching of the gospel has ceased to attract hearers on account of its novelty; still it is cheering to notice that our chapels and schools are crowded with attentive hearers and learners, and that the blessing of the Lord seems to rest upon the work. By the establishment of the Normal, or Training School, and our numerous Out-station schools, the Mission has extended its usefulness, and has quietly advanced to a state of comparative prosperity. During this period, two new Mission stations, Bethabara and Springfield, have been established; new chapels have been built at Nazareth and New Eden; the chapels at Bethlehem and Irwin Hill enlarged; and in all our stations and congregations everything is better ordered, and more firmly established than ever before. Indeed sufficiently so, to cheer the hearts of the missionaries in their work, and to make us all bless the Lord, and take courage.

Annexed is a list of our stations, and the number of our congregation members, according to the returns of December 31st, 1853.*

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* From Returns published by the "London Association in aid of the Moravian Missions," and which came to hand while this Table was in the press, it is evident that Br. Buchner has not gone to the extreme in his enumerations. Those under pastoral care are stated thus: Communicants, 4249; Total, 13129.
Thirteen Station Schools—Boys, 633; Girls, 700; 1033.
Thirty Country or Out-station Schools—Boys, 795: Girls, 580; 1375.
Total—Boys, 1728; Girls, 1280; Total, 3008.—Ed.

STATISTICAL TABLE OF THE

UNITED BRETHREN'S (MORAVIAN) MISSIONS, JAMAICA, DEC. 31, 1853.

Parish.	Station.	Missionaries.	Adults.	Communicants.	Children.	Total.
Manchester, ...	Fairfield, ...	Br. and Sr. Buchner,..... Br. and Sr. Lind, *Assistant*,.. ,, Klesel and) Teachers in ,, Sonderman) the N. School.	998	606	560	1558
,, ...	Bethabara, ...	Br. and Sr. Seiter,..... ,, A. Renkewitz,....	559	357	300	859
St. Elizabeth,....	Lititz,.....	,, Elliott, ...	595	339	420	1015
Manchester,.....	Bethany,.....	,, Cook, ...	791	416	563	1354
,, ...	Nazareth, ...	,, I. Renkewitz,....	418	272	344	762
,, ...	New Eden,.....	,, E. Reinke,.....	554	296	350	904
,, ...	New Fulnec, ...	,, Plessing,.....	663	370	550	1213
,, ...	Bethlehem,.....	,, Geissler,.....	431	284	300	731
,, ...	Springfield,.....	,, Feurig,.....	368	196	290	658
Westmoreland, ..	New Carmel,....	,, Kummer,.....	878	418	650	1528
,, ...	New Hope,.....	,, Kiergard, ...	519	234	420	939
,, ...	Beaufort,.....	,, Kieldson,.....	377	207	224	601
St. James'	Irwin Hill,.....	,, Lichtenthäler,...	371	187	307	678
	13 Stations.	17 Brethren. 16 Sisters. 33	7522	4182	5278 In School, 2940.	12800

CHAPTER VI.

MISSION STATIONS—DIFFICULTIES AND EMOLUMENTS OF THE MORAVIAN MISSIONARIES—CONGREGATIONS—SERVICES ON THE SABBATH-DAY — DUTIES OF THE MISSIONARIES—CHURCH GOVERNMENT—NATIVE ASSISTANTS—SPIRITUAL AND MORAL STATE OF THE CHURCH—OPINION OF THE PLANTERS—OBSTACLES—CONCLUSION.

In the preceding chapters, the principal events in the history of the mission have been enumerated; in the present it is proposed to give a description of the mission *as it is*, the labours of the missionaries, and the state of our churches in Jamaica.

The missionary stations of the Moravians in this island are pleasantly situated, and distinguished by neatness and order. The church, with its little belfry, and bell calling to the meeting, the minister's house, the schoolhouse, and several outhouses, built in a solid and substantial manner, of the hard timber of the country, or of masonry, without any attempt at ornament or show, form a little settlement, and may well be called a city on a hill, a light set on a candlestick. From thirty to sixty acres of land attached to each station are divided into allotments by dry stone walls, and converted into pasturage for the horses and cattle belonging to the mission. No public conveyances being found here, every one must provide for himself, and several horses are kept at every station for the service of the missionary. On most of these places horned

cattle and poultry are likewise kept. A missionary finds himself here on a little farm; and if he has pleasure in cultivating a garden, and will attend in his leisure hours to the superintendence of all the labour required on a small farm, it may contribute towards his support; but if not, he may reduce his stock; as he will find there is much to attend to, of which a missionary could have no idea before he engaged in the service; thus he will have ample room for the exercise of his knowledge, of whatever kind. All horses, stock, furniture, &c., on the station are the property of the mission; and they pass from one missionary to another as they change places. The stations are, at the present time, well provided with all the necessaries and some of the comforts of this life; hence it cannot be said that they have to exercise any very great degree of self-denial. In the provision made for them, all is plain and simple, nothing superfluous or costly, but everything is provided that a man might reasonably expect. Comparative solitude and want of society, is felt by all the missionaries, and particularly by those of a lively disposition. Another painful trial of missionary faith is, the necessity under which they are placed, to send their children to Europe for education, and thus to part with them, perhaps never to see them again. They remain there permanently; as the missionaries are not stationary, it is found neither advisable nor practicable to let the children return in order to establish them here. However, there is no situation in life which has not its peculiar trials, and the missionaries who, as good soldiers of our Lord Jesus Christ are expected to endure hardness, should not be among the first to complain. Whatever trials they have to endure in the present day, and in some countries they have still to contend with much that is unpleasant; yet their trials are far exceeded by the sufferings and dangers through which men of the world will pass, for the sake of filthy lucre. If

those who profess religion, and are truly children of God, would value and covet the souls of their fellow-men as much as gold is valued and coveted by the children of this world, missionary enterprise would be attended with greater success. We must confess it to our shame and reproach, that they far surpass us in their perseverance, their self-denial and endurance, for no other but temporal and perishable objects.

With regard to the maintenance of our missions, the engagement on the part of the church of the United Brethren is, to provide for all the necessities of her missionaries, but nothing more; and on the part of the missionaries, it is expected that they shall give themselves with entire devotedness to the cause of the Lord, renouncing all prospects of worldly riches and distinctions, placing all their talents and abilities at the disposal of the Lord and his church. Besides an allowance for clothing and other personal wants, which varies in different countries, and amounts in Jamaica to £28 per annum for a missionary and his wife; he receives no salary, but renders an account every year of all his other necessary expenses, which are charged to the mission fund. The less this amount is, the more satisfaction will the missionary feel; and if by the labours of his hands, or by his abilities in any other way, he should earn or procure ever so large a sum, he lays no claim to it. Missionaries, however talented and successful in the conversion of souls, even if they could, in addition to this, support themselves and the whole mission in which they are engaged, would still remain on the same level as their less gifted brethren, and would gain no personal profit nor distinction by it. If pride should enter into their heart, and they should lift themselves up above others, their character and influence would be gone, their fall would be certain. The missionaries are always to remember, that they are not the servants of men, but the servants of the Lord; for praise and

for reward, they have to look to him alone. When disabled by disease or old age, and obliged to return home, a pension, though barely sufficient to support them, is provided; and the expenses for the education of their children are borne by the "Mission Diacony."

Around the missionary stations, the members of the congregation generally live scattered within a circle of about ten miles diameter. Here and there are Negro villages, built without any order or regularity; the houses point in every direction, and form confused lines, every house being surrounded by a garden for the growth of vegetables or of the cotton tree, and generally shaded, or even hid, under the large foliage of the plantain. Those of smaller dimensions are eighteen feet by twelve, divided into two apartments, having no floor but the bare ground, and are plastered with mortar, and covered with thatch; the generality are larger, containing three apartments, decently floored with boards and covered with shingles; the rooms are generally well furnished, and kept clean and neat. Thirty, or even twenty years ago, there was no garden, and scarcely a fruit-tree to be seen, where the Fetish or Obeah was not exhibited, to deter thieves by superstitious fears from their depredations. This has entirely disappeared.

When looking at the habitations of the Negroes, we cannot resist the conclusion, that probably in no other part of the world does nature so richly provide man with the comforts of this life, if he only has sufficient knowledge and industry to possess himself of them. At his very door grow the sugar-cane and the coffee-tree, to provide for his breakfast. Vegetables of various kinds, the yam, the cow, the plantain, the indian corn, and the bread-fruit tree grow in abundance; and together with these, the poultry and pigs make provision for his dinner; while the tobacco-plant furnishes the luxury of smoking, of which a Negro is very fond. In fact almost

every thing that man requires for his daily bread is found here. The cotton-tree grows luxuriantly, and might furnish the materials for clothing, so that nothing appears wanting but skill and diligence to make the inhabitants independent and prosperous; yet, after all, Jamaica is but a poor country, and imports largely even the common necessaries of life. There are various ways of accounting for this anomaly, such as frequent droughts, and other causes. The principal reason however appears to be, a want of knowledge to turn these advantages to account, and a lack of persevering industry. This becomes fully apparent where, as in the mountains here and there, English farmers have established themselves, side by side with the Negroes; the former have abundance, and are growing rich, while the latter, with few exceptions, remain poor.

The common dress of the Negroes during the week is an Osnaburgh shirt and trowsers for the men; and a gown of the same material, or common print, for the women. On Sunday they are better clothed, and the congregation makes a respectable appearance. The young Negro girls are very fond of show; and if they had the means, and were not restrained, would often dress extravagantly. The wearing of gold trinkets and artificial flowers is not tolerated among us, or at least is reproved as vanity. At the marriage ceremony the bride appears in much state, richly clad, sometimes as well as any lady, with silk stockings, an embroidered robe, and costly veil. It would be impossible to recognize the same person a few days after in her common dress. We take pains to discourage all extravagance on such occasions, as this proves a stumblingblock and a snare to many. Not having the means to make a rich wedding, they often fall into the sin of concubinage.

The services on the Sabbath-day are well attended; our chapels contain from seven hundred to a thousand hearers,

and we are not accustomed to see empty seats. The bell rings at nine o'clock for the Sunday school, when from one to two hundred children assemble. At ten o'clock they have a meeting, in which they repeat the hymn and lesson they have learned, and are addressed by the minister, or sometimes by the teacher. At eleven o'clock the public service begins with singing a hymn and praying the Church Litany, the whole congregation repeating the responses most devoutly; when, after reading portions from the Old and New Testaments, the sermon follows, and the conclusion is made with prayer. This service lasts generally about two hours. From one to two o'clock in the afternoon there is a meeting for the candidates or inquirers, likewise attended by the rest of the congregation. This is a meeting for instruction, in which a regular course of christian doctrine is gone through, or a portion of scripture explained. Frequently questions are put by the minister and answered by the congregation. At two o'clock the services of the day close with a meeting of the congregation, attended only by members, in which the minister, as addressing believers, is expected to speak more to edification than to instruction. The services on the Lord's-day are continued from nine to three o'clock; and no one will be surprized if at the conclusion, the minister feels fatigued and exhausted. Such is the regular order of our Sabbath-day work; but it is frequently varied as follows: Once in eight weeks, the holy communion is celebrated, and is generally attended by all the communicants. On this occasion the congregation appears dressed in white. Once likewise in eight weeks, holy baptism is administered, and frequently a missionary prayer-meeting is held, when our native assistants are called upon to offer up prayer, and sometimes to address the congregation. It is to be regretted, that we are compelled to keep all these meetings in succession, without any longer interval than from fifteen to

twenty minutes; but as the members of the congregation live so scattered, they could not be collected again on the Sabbath-day should they return to their homes. It is a rare case that any disturbance takes place on these occasions, when such crowds assemble; order and silence reign, and the attention that is paid to the word is very pleasing.

When addressing a Negro congregation, we endeavour to remember the apostle's injunction, "Condescend to men of low estate," and to speak in a plain and simple style suited to their comprehension. High sounding words would not be understood. Speaking to them is comparatively easy; the minister feels himself free and unembarrassed; there is no fear of being much criticised, or of giving offence; he can safely discard all those apprehensions that frequently hinder the free vent of his feelings and the full flow of his words. In consequence, there is a liberty of speech, and sometimes an unadorned straightforwardness in the addresses delivered, which might not be tolerated in a more intellectual community. But if a missionary wishes not merely to beat the air, if he truly aims to be understood and to speak to the heart, he will find that it is more difficult to obtain this object than when addressing a more civilized congregation. His speech must be lively, and on a level with the comprehension of men of uncultivated, narrow minds, suited to their state and feeling, and this is no easy task. The Negroes use many comparisons and similes in their conversation, and the missionary who has a talent for illustrating all he has to say, by comparing it with common objects and events, will suceeed best. If I should be asked, what quality a missionary should possess pre-eminently, to labour with success and blessing? I would unhesitatingly answer, "Love." Love to the Saviour, who redeemed us; and love to our fellow-men. Whatever their degradation, however repulsive their manners, a missionary must

truly love them, if he would succeed in gaining their attention and affection. He must resemble the Saviour himself, who for thirty-three years lived among a crooked and perverse generation, and still loved them even unto death. Without this fervent love, knowledge and abilities, however valuable in themselves, will never overcome and break through the barriers which close the heart of man against all that comes from God; but love will gain an entrance, love will remove them.

Various are the duties of the missionary during the week. He has generally to preach twice at the out-stations, he has to visit and examine the schools, attend to the sick, and make pastoral visits in the villages, calling upon the different families; and once in eight weeks all the church members are expected to visit the missionary at his house, and to converse with him on spiritual subjects. On three days of each week, during three successive weeks, the missionary remains at home, to receive these visits. His wife, who, among the Moravians, is specially charged to be a missionary among her own sex, receives the visits of the females at the same time. The rule is, to converse with every one individually; but as our congregations are so numerous, a class of from ten to twenty will occasionally come together at one time. Much tact and ability are required, if the missionary would succeed in setting them all at ease, so as to induce them to converse freely. While he becomes thereby personally acquainted with every member of his congregation, and has an opportunity of saying to each what he believes requisite, either in the way of reproof, warning, or encouragement; he may learn much for his own improvement. In this way he becomes acquainted with the character of the people, learns their mode of thought and expression; and feels his own heart often cheered by their simple declarations of faith and love to the Saviour.

Once in four weeks the native assistants, or helpers, assemble at conference, when the minister receives information from them regarding the state of the congregation; and they are advised and encouraged by him in their labours. These conferences are likewise courts of arbitration, in which disputes between church members are adjusted, or offenders spoken with and admonished. Those that have been excluded, if they beg to be re-admitted, are likewise required to appear before this board, to confess their transgression and to promise amendment. Minor offences and disputes are inquired into and settled by two or three of the helpers meeting in their district; but of this the minister is always to be informed.

Besides these various labours in the gospel, and the attention the minister has to pay to all the external concerns of the mission station, he is often called upon for advice in difficulties of another kind. As there are but few medical men in the island, and their attendance is very expensive, the missionary will find that some knowledge of simple medicines is almost indispensable; and he will do well, while preparing for the higher duties of his office, to direct his attention a little in that way. He that can administer advice and medicine to the sick, will gain their confidence, and have frequent opportunities for speaking a word in season to lead the patient to Jesus the good physician.

The missionaries being generally stationed at a considerable distance from each other, find it is cheering and enlivening to meet now and then in conference, when everything relating to the mission is regulated by the same rule, and thus perfect unanimity is maintained throughout all our churches. These meetings give the brethren an opportunity to exchange their thoughts, to communicate their experience, and strengthen one another's hands by their brotherly intercourse; they stimulate the missionaries to cheerful and devoted ac-

tivity, and contribute, more than anything else, to preserve vitality in the mission. With the directing board of Elders in Germany, the brethren here correspond regularly. They are made fully acquainted with the state of the mission; and their advice is asked, and their consent necessary, in every change or new undertaking.

Besides these conferences, there are other official appointments which it may be well to notice. In each station there are from ten to twenty brethren and sisters appointed to act as helpers: these form a board to assist in the government of the church. There are also several brethren and sisters who are appointed as chapel servants, whose duty is to keep the chapel clean, and to attend on the Sabbath and other days, to every office in the house of God that good order requires. Others are appointed as collectors of church contributions. Every member is expected to pay sixpence per month for the support of the gospel. These collectors receive the money, and give a ticket as receipt. In these various duties from forty to fifty members are employed, who receive no remuneration whatever. They are taught to regard their service as done unto the Lord, and willingly and cheerfully perform it, though it costs them both time and labour. They are honoured for the office they hold; but they are not unfrequently exposed to the ill-will and opposition of disorderly persons. Their official engagements require the exercise of much forbearance, humility, and meekness. As only the most faithful in the flock, who have the good-will of all, are chosen for any of these offices, they form a very respectable body in the congregation, may be viewed as the right hand of the minister, and are of the most essential service to him.

With the missionaries of other churches the Moravian Brethren have always maintained the most friendly relations,

by an exchange of visits, by associating with them at Bible and Missionary Meetings, and by carefully abstaining from all interference in other men's labours. They gladly bear testimony to the faithfulness, ability, and success, with which many around them have laboured and are labouring in the gospel, and rejoice with them in their prosperity.

Having given the history of the mission, and stated the various duties of the missionaries, and the form of our church government, the main question remains to be answered. What estimate should we form of the success of the gospel, and of the moral and spiritual state of our congregations?* The answer must depend on the view which we take in forming our judgment. If we compare Jamaica as it is at present with what it was only twenty-five years ago, the change which the gospel has wrought is truly astonishing. It is not merely a political reformation. At that time darkness covered the land; the number of those who enquired after the Lord, and desired the knowledge of God, was indeed very small: the people lived without God in the world, his commandments were unknown, or wholly disregarded; the sabbath was no day of rest or of worship; and as to all social relations, the mass of the people lived as the beasts of the field. How different is it now! Every Sabbath-day witnesses crowds assembled in the house of God, decently, orderly, and devoutly offering up hymns of praise and prayer, and listening to lessons from God's holy word; while the children are under the daily instruction of faithful teachers. Now, when we go through the land, we find but few who in the face of day dare set at nought the commandments of God. Concubinage, which was then the sin and curse of the country,

* I have stated this proposition in the plural; because I believe my brethren are of the same opinion with me on these subjects.

though still persisted in by some of the Negroes, and not a few of the whites, is an exception, and is looked upon with scorn and contempt; the social relations being well-ordered, and respected. Still more surprizing is the change which has taken place with regard to the intellect and character of the people. The low, stupid, and cunning slave has become a man, feeling the responsibility he is under as a subject and a christian; his outward deportment and actions bear testimony to his altered position. Jamaica has become a christian country: supplied with the means of grace, the gospel has exercised its civilizing and elevating power, and will, it is hoped, continue to do so. All this we may safely assert has been accomplished, though we do not deny that there are still many in a very degraded and ignorant state, and that even profligacy and crime are, in some parts, in the ascendant.

But if the enquiry be made regarding the moral and spiritual state of our congregations, and not merely the improvement in morals, and regard for christian ordinances, though these may be viewed as some of the secondary effects of the gospel; if we ask whether there have been many instances of that real change of heart called conversion, or the new birth? John iii. 3, the answer will be somewhat different. The missionaries endeavour, with unwearied faithfulness, to fasten this truth upon the heart and mind of every one, that nothing short of a new creature in Christ Jesus availeth with God. Each convert on his application for church fellowship, is at once reminded that all religious observances, hearing the word of God and praying, are but the means to an end, and is admonished not to rest satisfied in them, until he has found peace for his soul by personal experience of the love of God in Christ Jesus. The members of the church are continually reminded of the same truth, and are called upon to beware, lest they build upon a wrong foundation, and to examine

themselves, whether this change has really taken place in them. There is, in consequence, a general acknowledgment of this truth felt and understood, and bringing a conviction of insufficiency and sinfulness home to the conscience of many. This excludes boasting, does not allow a confident and heedless resting upon a name and form, and humbles man. It is a conviction which may be perceived in a marked manner in many; but the number of those who go beyond this, who by a lively faith lay hold on the promises, and receive power to become the children of God, is comparatively small. Still, in every congregation, we can point to a goodly number of whom we confidently believe that they are born again; who give evidence by word and action, that they have truly experienced this saving change. But instead of speaking of our church members as christians who are truly converted, and let their light shine before men, we prefer describing them such as they are in truth—the maimed, the halt, the blind, the lame, under the care of the Good Physician, giving signs of returning health and strength, according as they are in the different stages of the cure. Yet if we asserted that this is the general character of our members and candidates, we should still give too favourable a testimony. There are numbers left in whom the evidences of an awakened conscience, and a hungering and thirsting after righteousness appear entirely wanting, even if there is nothing in their conduct to call for reproof or correction; who, in spite of all they hear to the contrary, still cherish a belief in their own righteousness, and pride themselves upon their negative goodness, because they have not committed this or that sin. There are numbers, who make a profession of religion without power; many who join the church because others do so, and count it respectable. If we make our estimate according to the *word of God*, forming our opinion by its authority, then indeed we

must confess, that the spiritual state of our churches is not as satisfactory as we could desire. On the other hand, if we compare our churches here with the state of religion in christian lands, we may as confidently assert, that we have no cause to be discouraged, that the saving and heart-changing influences of the gospel have exercised their power as much here as there. And in this opinion we are still more confirmed when we consider what our congregations were formerly; the darkness, the ignorance, the superstition, in which they grew up; the habits of sin they acquired, and the exceedingly low state into which they were sunk. As beggars, they have been raised from the dunghill.

Much as we may desire to see all men come to the knowledge of the truth and be saved, the word of God holds out no prospect in the present dispensation, that we shall ever see congregations and churches all consisting of truly converted, spiritually-minded men. The true church will remain for the present invisible, until gathered out of all nations, tongues, and tribes; but wherever the gospel is preached, there will be a *little* flock, a *few* that are chosen; at the same time it is certain that even whole nations will, and do share, directly or indirectly, in the blessed influence which the word of God exercises.

The moral state of our congregations may be taken as an evidence of their religious life. These two things cannot be separated; no people can be religious and immoral at the same time. Nevertheless, there is a consideration which should be taken into account in forming our judgment. Those who have been sunk in vice, and are much exposed to temptation, will find that their former lusts and evil inclinations remain their besetting sins all their lifetime, however earnestly they desire to resist, and keep themselves unspotted. Times of forgetfulness and indifference may come, when satan will take the advan-

tage, and they may be overtaken by sin if the Lord prevent not. There is, however, a difference between sinning wilfully and being "*overtaken in a fault;*" the one will lead to hardness of heart, the other may be followed by sincere repentance. When we take into account that our converts have been familiarized with sin, the slaves of lust, and are still exposed to the same temptations, favoured by many circumstances, we are inclined to judge them rather in the spirit of charity. We are not without instances of those who made a good profession and did run well, being again overtaken by sin, and falling back into their old ways. These characters either throw off all restraint, and give themselves up to profligacy, or they are led thereby into deeper repentance, and sue earnestly for re-admission into the church. Among the young, immorality is too prevalent, and the marriage union not sufficiently respected. Let any one see how they are housed and dressed, and where and how they meet in their daily occupations, and he will cease to wonder that it is so, much as he may regret it. Notwithstanding all this, we are decidedly of opinion, that in this respect likewise, there is a great improvement, and that immoral practices are not so frequent and barefaced as they were ten or twenty years ago. Let any one compare the number of exclusions from church fellowship, as they are given every year in the "*Periodical Accounts,*" published in London, with the number of our church members, and let him remember, that though we do not hear and know all that takes place, still, with the agency employed, we have every facility to ascertain the truth, and he will by no means form as unfavourable an estimate of the morality of the people as might be supposed, after what has been stated above.

We are likewise decidedly of opinion, that the people are not retrograding in habits of industry, though they are not at

all equal to the white man in this respect, and probably never will be. However it is worthy of notice, that when visiting during the week in the Negro villages, we scarcely ever find them at home, but employed in their grounds and gardens; and their well-arranged dwelling-houses and neatness in dress confirm our opinion of their industry.

The statements of the planters, judging by what the newspapers say occasionally, and what we hear often expressed in conversation, are much at variance with those of the missionaries. In their opinion, the bulk of the people become more and more brutalized; and irreligion, immorality, and idleness are fast increasing. Many look with disgust and hopelessness upon the future destiny of Jamaica. This difference of opinion is not difficult to explain. The industrious and intelligent among the people find it much more to their advantage to leave the estate, and cultivate their own land; and those that remain, or hire themselves out as day labourers, are too frequently the lowest class, whose idle and improvident habits prevent them from acquiring land of their own. The planters find it exceedingly difficult to procure hands for the cultivation of their estates; and those whom they engage do not give them satisfaction. The Jamaica planter labours at present under great difficulties, which would try the utmost patience of any man; he sees his work neglected, his property going to ruin, and is at the mercy and caprice of his labourers, who do just as much or as little as they please. That daily losses and vexations should irritate his temper, and sour his mind, is quite natural. Frequently, this state of things is produced by low and irregular wages. But even at the best, there is certainly a great want of labourers here, which quite disarranges the natural position of the employer and the employed, the latter looking upon their services in the light of a favour bestowed. We sympathize with the

planters in their difficulties, we sincerely regret the existing state of things, and should be glad to see the labour market better supplied; but we can have no sympathy with those who, while they rail at the people, contribute not a little to their ruin. We can entertain no regard for a man, though he may be the proprietor of a sugar estate, who calls the Negroes brutes, while he himself exhibits an example of immorality, lives in concubinage, keeps a rum-shop, and not only encourages drunkenness by the sale of spirituous liquors, but likewise, by paying his labourers their wages partly in rum, contributes, as much as he can, to their present and everlasting ruin. If a man thus "sows the wind," can it be otherwise but that he shall "reap the whirlwind?" His labourers may well, under the influence of such an example, be a most abandoned set of men.

There are two evils which prove a source of continual grief and vexation to the faithful missionary, and which contribute more than anything else to promote every vice and wickedness. The one consists in the sale of rum and other spirituous liquors; and the other is an ungodly ministry. The Negro race have never been accused of being addicted to drunkenness; they were formerly spoken of as a sober people; but since emancipation, that vice has greatly increased, and is increasing. The number of shops set up by unprincipled persons has multiplied, and what is still more provoking, they are always to be found in the immediate neighbourhood of the churches, where a large population resides. These places are the resort of all the idle and drunken; and as, at the same time, salt provisions, flour, and other articles of daily request, are to be had there, many who are in consequence compelled to enter them, meet bad company, are tempted to take strong drink, and thus ensnared into sin. In the same places, worldly amusements, cock-fighting, music and dancing, tempt the

young and thoughtless, and become the immediate cause of their fall, if not finally of their ruin. While we are building up, they destroy; while we teach, beseech, and warn, they undermine and uproot every good word and work. They are the ruin, the curse of the land; and we are surprised that those who ought to be the guardians of propriety and good order, cannot perceive that by these means they promote idleness, destroy morality, uproot virtue and religion, and fill the prisons. The other evil is, as already noticed, an ungodly ministry, which upholds the form, while it denies the power of religion, thus obliterating the distinction between the world and the church, and practically denying the necessity of a change of heart, their conduct deceives the ignorant, and is productive of much evil. In the neighbourhood of such churches, and of such a ministry, the exercise of church discipline becomes very difficult. Offenders, who by wholesome reproof, might be led to repentance, will not endure it; they are readily received by these ministers as members of their churches, sit down with them at the table of the Lord, and are thereby deceived so as to think themselves very good christians. This mode of proceeding tends to strengthen the habits of sin: by such a course the truth is denied, the faithful grieved, the weak and ignorant confounded, and the careless, lukewarm, and self-righteous confirmed in their evil ways. Over such a state of things not only the missionary, but every man of sound judgment, must mourn; even men of the world, when they see that their interests suffer in consequence, will view it as a subject of just complaint.

When we look into the future, we cannot but fear that, of the large number who have joined our church, many may be drawn aside by these influences, to reject not only the discipline of the church, but also the light and easy yoke of the Master himself. To be warned and reproved is, for the sincere

not grievous; but those who are not upright in heart, will turn away from the most loving admonition. On the other hand we may hope, that by the ministry of the gospel, and by the instruction of the young, our congregations may become more enlightened, more intelligent, and, let us hope, more grounded and settled in the truth.

One hundred years have now elapsed since the first Moravian missionary landed in Jamaica; and from that time until the present, through evil report and good report, our Missionary Brethren have continued to labour, to break up the fallow ground, and sow the seed of the word in faith, and hope, and love, trusting in him who has promised: "My word shall not return void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and prosper in the thing whereto I sent it."

If by the instrumentality of the Brethren, souls have been saved,—if poor wretched slaves have been taught and brought by them into saving acquaintance with a Friend above, in whom they could trust, and upon whom they could cast all their burdens: if liberated Negroes have been taught the important truth, that "*he only is free whom the Son makes free;*" and have heard and believed the blessed gospel of the forgiveness of sins through the bloodshedding and death of Jesus; and, being redeemed from all iniquity, have become zealous of good works, walking in a manner worthy of their high calling: if, as we are persuaded, this has been effected by the labours of our Missionary Brethren,—unto Him who enabled us, to Him whose blessing followed, to Him the Head and Master of his church,—the Saviour of sinners, we ascribe the honour: *to Him be all the praise!*" We are but unprofitable servants,—weak and feeble instruments; if we succeed and prosper, it is *through Jesus Christ our Lord.*

May the blessing of God our Saviour continue to rest upon the Mission, and be shared by all the inhabitants of this land!

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CHAPTER I.

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ERRATA.

Page 11, line 18, for 1792, *read* 1692.

Page 14, line 9, for two were drowned, *read* one was drowned.

——————14, for one served 13 years, *read* two served 13 years.

Page 15, line 13, for Cosobay, *read* Cocobay.

Page 22, line 5, for purchased, *read* received a grant.

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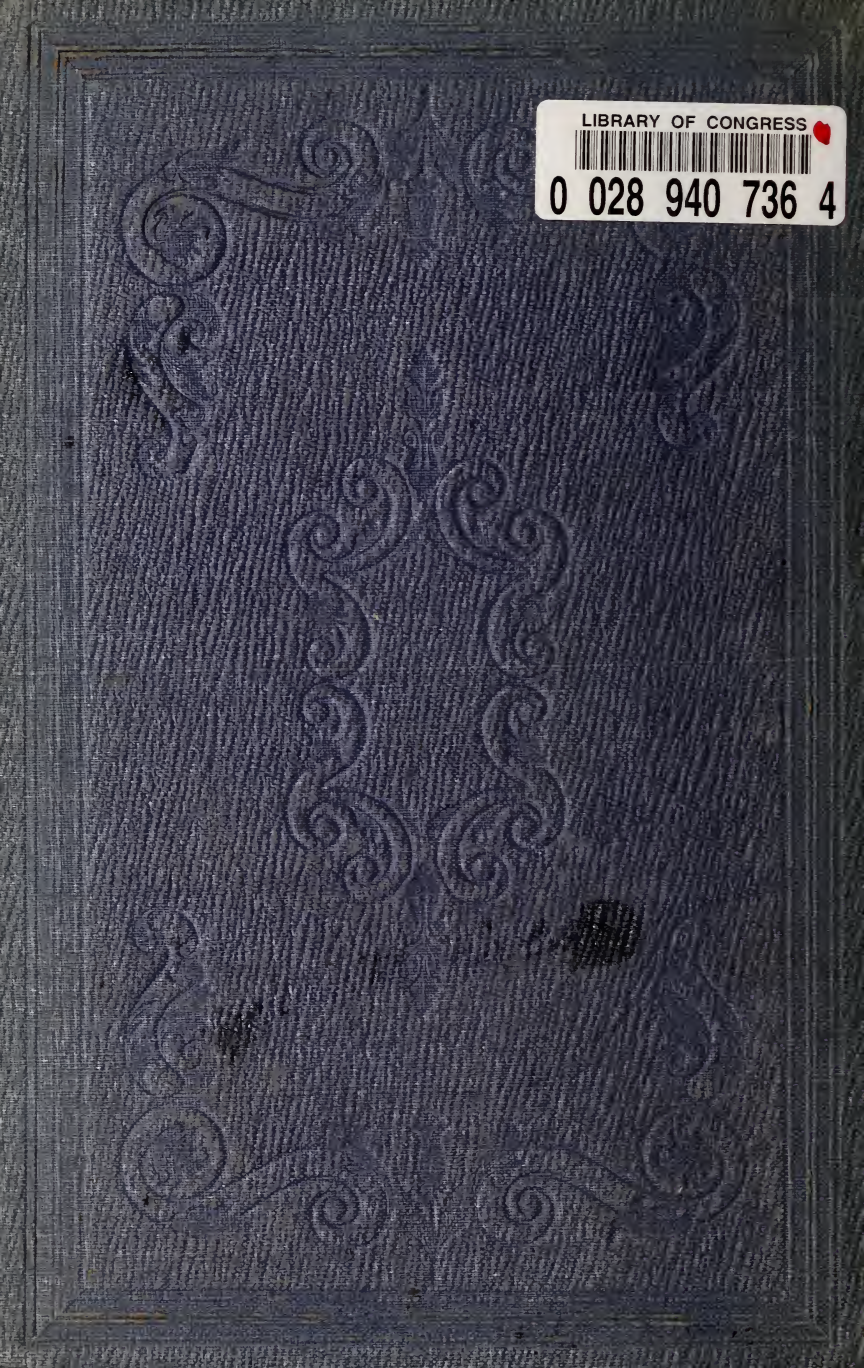
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